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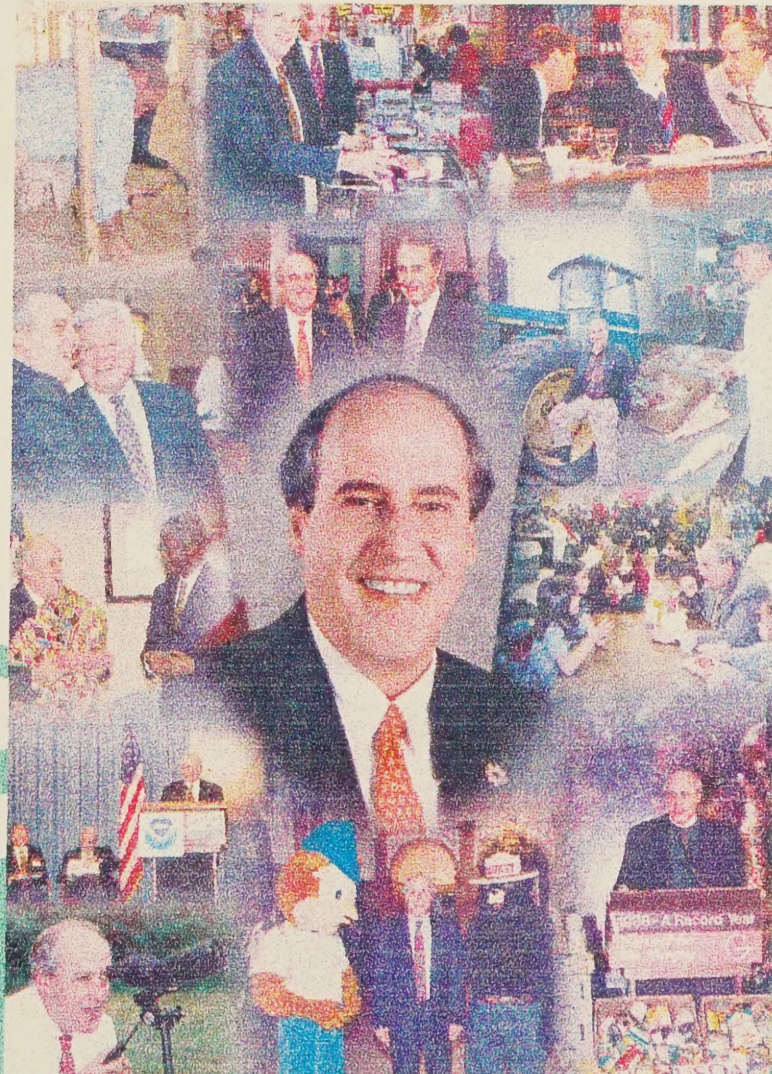
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History of the U.S. Department of Agriculture 1993-2000

Submitted to the Clinton Presidential Library
December 2000

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Credits

This **History of the U.S. Department of Agriculture 1993-2000** is in three parts: a narrative history, a collection of archival documents, and an oral history consisting of tapes and transcripts. The project is the work of many hands:

Sedelta Verble, USDA Communications Director, took overall responsibility for the project. Executive oversight was provided by the Office of the Secretary including Deputy Chief of Staff Bart Chilton, the Secretary's Counsel Janet Potts, Chief of Staff Eric Olsen, and the Secretary's Special Assistant John Gibson. Deborah Smith, Office of Communications, was the project manager. Christine Hagstrom, former speechwriter for Secretary Dan Glickman, was the text editor for the narrative history. Larry Quinn, Office of Communications, was the interviewer for the oral history videotapes and audiotape. From this team, special thanks to Secretary Dan Glickman, whose passion for excellence is always an inspiration.

In addition, dozens of people--in the Offices of the Under Secretaries and Assistant Secretary, and in the USDA Agencies--had a hand in preparing the material for the narrative volume and in collecting documents for the archival collection. They include:

Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger;

Lynne Finnerty, Matt Kilbourne, and Butch May, *Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services*;

Deputy Under Secretaries Anne Keys and Glenda Humiston, Jeremy Anderson, and Fred Jacobs, *Natural Resources and Environment*;

Under Secretary Catherine Woteki, Deputy Under Secretary Caren Wilcox, Diane Coates, and Steve Teasley, *Food Safety*;

Nathaniel Deutsch, *Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration*;

General Counsel Charles Rawls and Ron Walkow, *Office of the General Counsel*;

Director Rosalind Gray, Josie Woodley-Jones, and John Bottum, *Office of Civil Rights*;

Under Secretary Shirley Watkins, Deputy Under Secretary Julie Paradis, and Rick Lucas, *Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services*;

Chief Economist Keith Collins and Adela Backiel, *Office of the Chief Economist*;

Jim Newby, *Rural Development*;

Michael Schechtman and Deb Hayes, *Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service*;

Shannon Hamm, *Marketing and Regulatory Programs*;

Linda Couvillion, *Office of Budget and Program Analysis*;

Joel Berg, *Community Food Security*;

Cheryl Cook, *National Food and Agriculture Council*;

Under Secretary Miley Gonzalez, Ralph Coleman, and James Spurling, *Research, Education, and Economics*;

Bart Acocella, Cheryl Normile, and Mike Alexander, *biography writers*; and

Larry Quinn, *interviewer, oral histories*.

Part I. Narrative History

The Legacy of Hope at USDA Foreword by Secretary Dan Glickman

I was honored to have the opportunity to serve this Nation for 6 years as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture. I am proud to have worked for two very special leaders, President Clinton and Vice President Gore. From my first day on this job to my last, their commitment to U.S. agriculture, to the Nation's family farmers and ranchers, to our rural communities, to the Nation's war on hunger, to food safety, to conservation, and to healthy, sustainable national forests was readily apparent and profound. Their support of the work of USDA never wavered, and their leadership and vision helped us make a deep and positive difference in the lives of all Americans and millions of people around the world.

I am indebted to a devoted and talented USDA staff. I was fortunate to have, at my right hand, Deputy Secretary Rich Rominger, whose commitment to family farmers, to conservation, to a leaner and more effective Department will forever be reflected in some of the most important legacies of this Administration. I could not be more proud of the achievements of the entire USDA leadership, and of all the benefits and improved service that we delivered to this Nation thanks to their hard work. I also leave this job in awe of the commitment and expertise of USDA's career employees. This Department is blessed with countless unsung heroes who devote their lives to some of the most important issues facing our Nation. Every day, they reminded me anew of the meaning of "public service."

But most of all, I am proud of the legacy that we have built together. Abraham Lincoln called USDA the "People's Department." No Administration in modern history has done more to see this Department live up to the full promise of that name than President Clinton's.

Over the past 8 years, President Clinton's USDA :

- Carried out a massive effort to shore up the farm safety net as the U.S. farm economy was buffeted by an unprecedented string of natural disasters and bumper global crop yields that drove prices down and threatened to drive many farmers and ranchers out of business. This Administration also placed a particular emphasis on assisting America's small farmers and ranchers--working not only to help them survive, but to create opportunities for their success and growth in the 21st century.
- Carried out the first major overhaul of U.S. meat and poultry inspections in nearly a century. We harnessed all the advances of science and technology to take food safety in

this country to a new level, focusing industry on preventing contamination rather than simply catching it after the fact. USDA also worked closely with all food safety agencies in this country to fulfill the Administration's vision of a seamless system that can better ensure that food travels safely from the farm to the table.

- Created a geography of hope across America by transforming the Conservation Reserve Program to a true environmental program that protects the most fragile acres of our landscape. By protecting the last pristine acres of our Nation's forests, the Clinton Administration also made a strong stand to protect some of the last great open spaces left in our country--protecting them for all generations of Americans yet to come. By channeling unprecedented resources into these and a whole range of other new environmental programs, this Administration will leave as its legacy not just a strong economy and a healthy, sustainable environment--but indisputable proof that this Nation can and should have both.
- Launched a civil rights initiative at USDA to address discrimination against minority farmers and employees--a devastating problem that had not been given the proverbial "time of day" by previous Administrations. Pressed on by modern-day civil rights heroes, the Clinton Administration made historic steps to right past wrongs, paving the way for a settlement of a nationwide class action with African American farmers--a settlement with significance on a par with the World War II internment camp reparations to Japanese Americans. The progress made throughout USDA in the civil rights arena under this Administration provides powerful proof that this Nation can overcome the most painful chapters of its history and build "one America."
- Advanced the war on hunger in America and took unprecedented steps to improve public health through greater public awareness of the powerful ties between nutrition and health. From new efforts to teach school children healthy eating habits and physical activity to seeing the Federal government do more to encourage community-based food recovery and other antihunger activities, to a strong defense of food stamps for working poor, this Administration defended and expanded the Federal nutrition safety net. We also recognized that our responsibility did not stop at the water's edge. From a global school meals initiative to swift and massive efforts to avert a famine in the Horn of Africa, this Administration has left a powerful legacy in the world war on hunger and malnutrition.
- Worked to create a rebirth of the rural American dream. Not only did this Administration launch a massive campaign to deliver basic services, such as running water and electricity, to millions of rural Americans who had never had them before, it also worked to bring more 21st century opportunities to our Nation's rural communities, particularly by empowering local leaders to develop strategies to build their own financial future. In community after community, we proved that local challenges are best addressed with local solutions, backed by unprecedented resources from this Administration.

- Expanded opportunities for U.S. agriculture around the world by pursuing an unprecedented number of trade agreements and championing the principles of free and fair trade around the world. The more level playing field our farmers and ranchers enjoy today will help ensure that more of the farm economy in the future is driven by the market opportunities for U.S. producers around the world.
- Enhanced the role of science and technology in all aspects of the Department's work. From boosting small farm profitability, to improving health, to providing new ways to sustainably feed a growing world, this Administration's advocacy of a strong agricultural research agenda will leave a lasting legacy to the world. The additional support for expanded use of new technologies also has improved everything from our food safety efforts to the integrity and efficiency of USDA programs.
- Reorganized USDA. All of these advances occurred during or after a massive effort to reduce the size of the Department, and to reorganize USDA's work around concrete missions that could better deliver the results that all Americans enjoy today.

I am leaving my job as U.S. Secretary of Agriculture with a great sense of satisfaction and accomplishment in all that this Administration was able to achieve. More than any other Department in the Federal government, USDA offers the leadership of this Nation the opportunity to make a positive difference in the lives of every American every day. This is an opportunity that President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Secretary Espy, myself, Deputy Secretary Rich Rominger and countless others seized every day. You can read about our legacy in the pages to come. But I trust that in future years this legacy will be best appreciated when you purchase safe, abundant, affordable food in the grocery store; savor a peaceful walk through a silent forest; enjoy clean air and healthy waterways that are the result of a more sustainable agriculture; and, see the Nation and the world reap the benefits of reduced hunger, improved health, and expanded opportunities here in this country and around the globe.

Eight Years of Progress

Executive Summary

Introduction

From guiding the U.S. farm economy through an unprecedented period of volatility, to expanding opportunities in rural communities, to saving lives and preventing serious illness by overhauling the Nation's meat and poultry inspections, to reinvigorating agricultural conservation programs and protecting more of our Nation's last remaining pristine forests, to escalating the Nation's war on hunger and malnutrition and launching massive efforts to educate the public about the powerful connections between nutrition and health, to supporting a strong future for small farms in America and expanding opportunities for U.S. agriculture around the world, the legacy of the Clinton Administration is exceedingly varied and of priceless value to the American people and to the world.

A New Era of Volatility in the U.S. Farm Economy

When President Clinton took office, the U.S. farm economy was humming along. Prices were high. Exports were strong. But it wasn't long before the cycle turned, and American agriculture faced one of the worst farm economy slumps in our lifetimes. Fortunately for U.S. farmers and ranchers, two sons of rural America were in the White House at the time. The Clinton Administration did everything in its power to see producers through these difficult times. With the help of Congress, USDA pumped billions of dollars into the farm economy, helping maintain cash flow to keep thousands of farmers from losing their land due to circumstances far beyond their control--from record low commodity prices to a string of devastating natural disasters and severe weather.

At the close of the 20th century, USDA had delivered a record \$28 billion in direct payments to farmers. This money was sorely needed by the men and women of American agriculture. But the Administration made it clear that heavy reliance on Treasury checks is not the ideal for American farmers. So President Clinton's USDA focused additional energy and resources in pursuing innovative ways to see farmers thrive largely on their own, with government acting as a true safety net.

Immediately preceding the sharp decline in the U.S. farm economy, Congress passed a new Farm Bill that erased a policy dating back to the New Deal. While the Administration made clear that the bill was inadequate in ensuring that Government remained a strong partner to farmers and ranchers and offered adequate protection to them in difficult times, President Clinton ultimately signed the legislation in recognition that U.S. agriculture needed greater market orientation and because the bill included his Administration's proposals to dramatically overhaul the Nation's conservation programs, to provide a massive influx of resources to farmers to pursue a more sustainable agriculture, and to protect some of the most fragile acres of the American landscape.

For its remaining time, the Administration would devote a tremendous amount of its time and energy to stitching a 21st century farm safety net. The Clinton Administration's vision for the new safety net was far more holistic than any yet seen in this country--embracing big and small producers, farmers and ranchers, as well as all the different kinds of producers that reflect the myriad diversity of modern U.S. agriculture. Throughout its time, the Administration maintained a strong commitment to providing real assistance to farmers when they are victimized by circumstances beyond their control --from powerful storms to weak markets. One strategy included championing income assistance that is counter cyclical--so payments rise when the farm economy falters. The Administration also advocated that payments be targeted to those who actually grow the crops (rather than the landowners) and to farmers who need the government's help most. Secretary Glickman also strongly advocated a 50-State farm policy that embraces the diversity of U.S. agriculture, rather than the existing regional policy that disproportionately emphasized row crops.

Early in 2000, the Clinton Administration sent a safety net proposal up to Capitol Hill, which included many of these ideas. But Congress chose not to make any large-scale farm policy changes, opting for yet another ad hoc stop-gap measure, the third multi-billion dollar emergency assistance package in 3 years. The Clinton Administration, however, did work successfully with Congress to pass the Agricultural Risk Protection Act in 2000. This crop insurance reform increased the risk management options available--making premiums more affordable; helped protect against multiyear losses; and allowed more producers, raising different kinds of crops and livestock, to obtain coverage.

Building a World of Opportunity for U.S. Agriculture

With about 96 percent of the world's consumers living outside the United States, the Clinton Administration understood that international trade is a critical driver of a strong farm economy, just as it is for the U.S. economy as a whole. In forging nearly 300 trade agreements, President Clinton's USDA was very aggressive in promoting American exports, particularly farm exports, especially after the global financial crisis drastically shrunk demand in so many key agricultural markets.

From the early, successful drive to ratify the North American Free Trade Agreement to the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to securing Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China, the Administration successfully rallied a bipartisan majority in Congress to proceed with key agreements that dramatically expanded U.S. agriculture's economic opportunities around the world. Perhaps the most important step taken to increase trade opportunities for farmers was the approval by Congress in 2000 of Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China. China represented the last untapped frontier, the one major market that had remained largely closed to the United States. By allowing American farmers to seize the benefits of China's accession to the World Trade Organization, agricultural exports are expected to expand by \$2 billion a year beginning in 2005.

The Clinton Administration also consistently was a champion of free and fair trade--actively resisting the attempts of other countries to use phony science trade barriers as competitive weapons. This effort, which helped protect and expand U.S. agriculture's opportunities in key export markets, was an essential piece of the Administration's farm economy strategy that aimed to expand U.S. producers' market opportunities, so that future farmers and ranchers are less dependent on billions of dollars in emergency aid year after year.

Emerging Challenges and Opportunities

The debate over the safety and potential of biotechnology reached a fever pitch around the world during the Clinton-Gore years. The Administration not only recognized that these advances could enhance farm productivity and profitability. They also understood that biotech could help feed a growing and hungry world without exploiting natural resources.

However, the Administration also understood that Government's most important responsibility with respect to biotechnology is maintaining a strict, transparent, science-based approval process, which keeps unsafe products from coming to market. The Administration took strong actions to ensure a reliable process for addressing genetic engineering of crops--from establishing a USDA advisory committee on biotechnology to asking the National Academy of Sciences to conduct an independent assessment of the current regulatory framework and suggest ways it can be improved.

The Administration also worked to bring integrity and consistency to products being marketed across the country as "organic." When President Clinton came into office, the organic market--once considered a fringe movement--was growing by leaps and bounds, yet there was no Federal standard in place governing who could use that term and what it meant. Through a vast and open process that included record-setting amounts of public comment and input, Clinton's USDA developed the first national organic standards. The final rule was strict, precise, understandable, and it increased opportunities for the growing community of American organic farmers, and others who would pursue this growing market.

Reviving the Rural American Dream

A strong farm economy, of course, goes hand in hand with a strong rural economy. So strengthening historically underserved rural communities also was a cornerstone of the Clinton Administration's work at USDA. President Clinton's USDA invested \$62 billion in rural areas. Much of these resources were dispersed according to the Administration's philosophy of community empowerment. Under this approach, local leaders had far more control over how the resources were used to address the specific needs of their community, and the Federal Government played a supporting role as a catalyst for locally driven economic growth.

The strategy worked. During its time in Washington, the Clinton Administration helped create or retain 1.6 million rural jobs, and in 2000 rural homeownership stood at a record 75 percent, higher than the overall national homeownership rate. The Administration also focused tremendous resources on persistent-poverty communities and areas of the country that had been

historically underserved. One hallmark program was Water 2000, which brought safe running water into the homes of more than 3 million rural Americans who had never had it before. The Administration also increased efforts to bring the tools of the modern information economy to the countryside--Internet access, fiber optics, satellite technology--to help ensure that rural America had the basic infrastructure necessary to participate in the economic opportunities of the Nation's largely technology-driven economic expansion.

Fighting Hunger and Promoting Nutrition

In selecting his two Secretaries of Agriculture, President Clinton selected men who were deeply committed not only to a strong future for U.S. agriculture, but also to reinvigorating the Nation's efforts to fight hunger in America and around the world and to improving public health by expanding both scientific knowledge and the general public's understanding of the powerful ties between nutrition and health.

The Clinton Administration took several important steps to strengthen the Federal nutrition safety net. It restored food stamp benefits to many legal immigrants who had them stripped away by Republican provisions in the welfare reform bill of 1996. In response to a sharp drop in the food stamp rolls, Clinton's USDA launched an aggressive public information campaign to reach out to the working poor and let them know that this program existed to help them. USDA also launched a school breakfast pilot program in six sites around the country to help ensure that fewer children have to try to learn on an empty stomach.

The Administration recognized that it takes more than Federal programs to eliminate hunger in America. So Secretary Glickman began a Community Food Security Initiative, which builds partnerships with the private sector, food banks, soup kitchens, and faith-based groups who are attacking the hunger problem at the grass roots. When he became Secretary of Agriculture, Glickman shared his personal passion for the issue of gleaning and food recovery with the Nation, bringing about a string of campaigns to work with farmers, restaurants, grocery stores, other Federal agencies, and to make the extra effort to get excess food to families who need it far more than a dumpster does.

The Administration also understood that having enough food is only half the battle. Eating the right foods also is critical. One hallmark effort of the Administration to improve America's eating habits was Team Nutrition, which worked in schools across the country to ingrain healthy eating habits in children at an early age. USDA also raised the visibility of the Nation's "quiet epidemic"--childhood obesity--and expanded its child nutrition efforts to include messages about the importance of physical activity.

The Administration focused considerable attention and research on expanding scientific understanding of all the different powerful links between nutrition and health. To bring a singular focus to the importance of sharing nutrition research with the public, the Clinton Administration created at USDA the Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion. Among its many activities, the Center created a special Food Guide Pyramid, tailored to the nutritional

needs of young children. It also worked with the Department of Health and Human Services to release revised Dietary Guidelines for Americans to promote healthy eating, and it developed an interactive Healthy Eating Index, so individuals can go on-line, enter their eating habits, and get guidance on how they can improve their health through nutrition.

The Clinton Administration also dramatically escalated the United States effort to reduce hunger around the world, both in response to a series of humanitarian crises and as part of a broader strategy that supported the goal the United States agreed to at the 1996 World Food Summit to lead a broad international effort to reduce world hunger by 2015. Under President Clinton's direction, USDA dramatically increased its humanitarian food assistance around the world--from aiding Kosovar refugees to averting a mass famine in the Horn of Africa. The Department also led the President's \$300-million Global Food for Education initiative to establish school feeding programs in developing countries.

Harnessing Modern Science to Improve Food Safety

Beyond ensuring a food supply that is plentiful and nutritious, the Clinton Administration also did more than any Administration since that of Theodore Roosevelt to improve food safety in this country. The new Administration received a strong public mandate to pursue fundamental reforms due to a tragic outbreak of a virulent strand of *E. coli* that took the lives of four young children in the Pacific Northwest who ate hamburgers at a fast food restaurant. In the wake of that tragedy, USDA created the Office of the Under Secretary for Food Safety, the highest ranking food safety official in the U.S. Government. And the Department revolutionized American meat and poultry inspection, reforming an antiquated system that had not kept up with nearly a century's worth of scientific and technological progress. The new system integrated state-of-the-art science into the process, allowing for the detection of deadly pathogens that cannot be caught with the naked eye. Based on information released by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the overhaul has undoubtedly saved lives and prevented countless illnesses.

The Administration, however, also was quick to recognize that food safety does not begin and end at the slaughterhouse door. In addition to regulation of meat and poultry plants, President Clinton's USDA--in partnership with other Federal food safety agencies--pursued a "farm-to-table" food safety approach, which recognizes the shared responsibility of agricultural producers, industry, and Government. From increased investments in food safety research, risk assessments, and surveillance; to repeated attempts to give more teeth to Federal food safety enforcement efforts, this Administration made a truly historic and comprehensive effort to ensure one high standard for food safety in this country--for both domestic and imported food--and to give all Americans the peace of mind that the food they feed their families is safe. USDA also expanded its consumer safety education efforts with new campaigns to promote safe handling and proper cooking temperatures.

Ensuring a Geography of Hope

The Clinton Administration also came into office vowing to bridge the historic divide between agriculture and the environment. This Administration understood that farmers are the original conservationists. They are the primary stewards of the American landscape, which is as valuable a commodity as any bushel of wheat or bale of cotton. The Administration strongly believed that Government should "put its money where its mouth is" and provide strong financial incentives to help farmers protect the Nation's air, waterways, and soil; protect open spaces; and preserve wildlife habitat. These beliefs were reflected in the 1996 Farm Bill, which included a pack of new programs to provide more resources to agriculture to pursue more sustainable practices. The Clinton Administration vigorously fought for these provisions, and they represent a key reason the President signed that legislation. The centerpiece of this key Clinton legacy was a fundamental overhaul of the Conservation Reserve Program, which the Administration successfully converted from a supply management mechanism into a genuine conservation effort that idles only the most erodible farmland.

The Administration also saw to it that the 1996 Farm Bill included a new Environmental Quality Incentives Program, which allows USDA to work with local communities on a cost-share basis, helping them solve conservation problems, with an emphasis on those related to livestock production. The 1996 Farm Bill also continued a voluntary Wetlands Reserve Program, which has proven exceedingly popular. Demand for the program was very strong, helping us make major progress toward our goal of no net loss of wetlands.

The Clinton Administration also took seriously its responsibilities, through USDA's Forest Service, as the guardians of the more than 190 million acres of national forests and grasslands. The Administration pursued a policy that encourages multiple uses of national forests and balances ecosystem protection with commercial and recreational interests. Among its proudest achievements is a "roadless" proposal that is the product of exhaustive scientific analysis and extensive public input. The proposal would prohibit new road-building and timber harvest except for stewardship purposes on 58.5 million acres of the most pristine national forest land, protecting it from erosion and other environmental problems.

A New Era of Civil Rights at USDA

One of the Clinton Administration's most enduring and meaningful legacies is one most Americans probably would not even associate with the Department of Agriculture--civil rights. Prior to the Clinton Administration, USDA had a deeply discouraging record when it came to providing equal opportunity and treating all employees and customers with dignity and respect.

The Clinton Administration committed to a process that would not stop until USDA eventually emerged as a civil rights leader in the Federal Government. Secretary Glickman commissioned a ground-breaking report, generated by a team of USDA employees, to assess the problem and recommend fundamental changes. From overhauling farm loans to stepping up minority recruitment to ensuring greater accountability to entering into an historic class-action settlement with Black farmers, every recommendation that did not require action by the Congress was

implemented. While the progress has been significant, the process is not complete and it must be continued by future administrations.

Reorganization

The Clinton Administration also was the first in decades to successfully complete a major reorganization of the notoriously large and byzantine USDA. The reorganization consolidated offices across the country into convenient "one-stop shops" that could better serve the Department's customers. The efforts also merged USDA programs into seven concrete mission areas to give greater focus to the key priorities of the Department's work. These innovations allowed the Department to reduce its workforce by some 30,000 full-time positions. They also saved \$6 billion over 5 years, freeing more resources to serve USDA customers. By the end of the process, USDA was lean, focused, and more capable of delivering 21st century service to its array of customers.

With responsibilities that span ensuring food safety, practicing forestry, fighting hunger, fostering conservation, and expanding opportunities for farmers, ranchers and all rural Americans, the U.S. Department of Agriculture offers this Nation's leaders a significant opportunity to improve the health, economic opportunities, and quality of life for all Americans and countless people around the world. More than any other modern presidency, the Clinton Administration made the most of these opportunities, leaving an enduring legacy that strengthened the power of the "people's department" to improve people's lives.

1. BUILDING A 21ST CENTURY FARM POLICY

Defining Government's Role as Farmers' Risks Rise

"There's another part of our American community in trouble tonight -- our family farmers. When I signed the Farm Bill in 1996, I said there was great danger it would work well in good times, but not in bad. Well, droughts, floods, and historically low prices have made these times very bad for the farmers. We must work together to strengthen the farm safety net, invest in land conservation, and create some new markets."

President Bill Clinton
2000 State of the Union
January 27, 2000

"A new farm policy must continue to celebrate farmers, their contribution and their unique role in society. And it must do that by embracing a more complete vision of the American farmer: farmer as effective risk manager, farmer as conscientious land steward, farmer as bold innovator, farmer as resourceful, multi-faceted, flexible businessperson ... (This) new farm policy must be as fair and inclusive as possible. It must go beyond commodity-based programs. It must be national in scope, encompassing more regions, more farmers and more crops. It's time for a farm policy that is focused less on historic crop prices and bureaucratic formulas and more on people and their dreams."

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman
2000 Agricultural Outlook Forum
February 24, 2000

Shortly after settling into his new job as the 26th U.S. Agriculture Secretary in March of 1995, Dan Glickman received a call in his office. It was the White House on the line, specifically the President of the United States. After a few congratulatory words, President Clinton got down to business: "How are corn prices today? What are we going to do to keep young people on the family farm?" He then launched into a series of ideas he had for how specific USDA programs could be better used to assist farmers and ranchers. He ended the call with a final request, "don't forget rural America."

Glickman was impressed with the President's depth of knowledge and touched by his obvious enthusiasm. He also was flattered by what he considered primarily a warm welcome to his new job.

Then, the following week the phone rang again.

As the conversations continued, the former veteran member of the House Agriculture Committee quickly concluded several things: (1) that President Clinton was the most well-versed of any President in modern times when it came to the complexities of U.S. farm policy and the needs and challenges of America's farmers, ranchers and rural communities; (2) that Glickman's own job had grown exponentially more challenging by the hands-on interest and expertise of his boss, and (3) that no matter how detached the country grew from America's farm communities, Glickman would never have to remind the President of the United States of the importance of the men and women who feed our Nation and much of the world.

Little did Glickman know at the time just how valuable this support "from the top" would become.

While the Clinton era is looked on generally as a time of glittering economic prosperity for the Nation, it was a time of deep economic trials for U.S. farmers and ranchers. After setting record high farm incomes in 1996, an abrupt reversal of fortune – fueled by flagging commodity prices, bumper global crop production and a series of devastating natural disasters – sent the U.S. farm economy into a tailspin.

Complicating the U.S. government's response to this downward spiral was a new farm policy – the first major overhaul in 60 years – which moved government away from its traditional role of rigidly managing supply and demand by dictating what and how much farmers could plant. Instead, the new policy replaced farm subsidies with fixed and declining "market transition" payments that would phase out over seven years. In other words, in exchange for freeing farmers to make their own planting decisions, farmers would largely be out on their own facing the various risks associated with agriculture.

While few contested that it was time for U.S. farm policy to move in a more free-market direction, a bitter dispute erupted--between the Republican leadership in Congress and the White House and its largely Democratic allies in Congress--over the proper role of government in 21st century U.S. farm policy. Republicans largely argued "survival of the fittest" – that farmers and ranchers who made sound business decisions would prosper and succeed in free markets. The Clinton Administration and its allies in the Congress warned that farmers and ranchers were uniquely vulnerable to circumstances beyond their control—from powerful storms to weak markets—circumstances that could drive even the best farmers and ranchers out of business, in the absence of a strong government safety net.

Ultimately, President Clinton did sign a new Farm Bill in 1996. It included historic conservation provisions developed and fought for by his Administration (See Chapter 2). Clinton also hailed the fact that the bill "at long last, farmers will be free to plant for the market, not for government programs." However, the President was quick to point out that he signed the legislation "with reservation because I believe the bill fails to provide an adequate safety net for family farmers. The fixed payments in the bill do not adjust to changes in market conditions, which would leave

farmers, and the rural communities in which they live, vulnerable to reductions in crop prices and yields.”

While this vulnerability concerned Clinton and Secretary Glickman, these reservations were largely drowned out by the farm economy’s current good times and the inevitable popularity of generous government payments on top of record high prices. Yet, the Administration persisted with its warning: should the farm economy reverse course before the Republican-led Congress responded to the Administration’s call for a stronger safety net, the celebrated “freedom to farm” legislation would take on a whole new meaning – “freedom to foreclose.”

Within a matter of months, the Administration’s worries became a grim reality for many farmers and ranchers as the Asian financial crisis, bumper global crops and a series of natural disasters formed dark clouds over the U.S. farm economy – clouds that would never fully dissipate during the Clinton-Gore years. From those days on, building a modern farm safety net would be the top priority of President Clinton’s USDA.

What follows is an account of a three-pronged strategy that the Clinton Administration used to both respond to the immediate needs of farm communities facing one of their hardest times since the Great Depression as well as broader efforts to stitch a new farm safety net for the long-haul, one that embraces the whole diversity of American agriculture--farmers and ranchers, small and large producers, traditional row crops as well as niche crops. This three-pronged effort involved: (1) effective and innovative use of traditional farm programs, (2) an increasing emphasis on a range of risk management efforts; and (3) a strong focus on expanding global opportunities. Through these efforts, the Clinton Administration took key steps toward a true 21st century farm policy – one that promptly and effectively delivers emergency aid to those who need it, but that also moves USDA away from its role as farm country’s “ATM machine” by creating more opportunities for the U.S. farm economy to thrive primarily as the result of strong and growing market opportunities here in America and around the world.

The 1990s: A Stormy Sea

In 1993, farm incomes were climbing steadily, riding a crest of strong commodity prices and robust exports. But the good economic news was marred by weather calamities that tested the mettle of the heartiest farmer, and in retrospect were harbingers of things to come.

A 500-year flood in the Midwest, a devastating drought in the Southeast, coupled with widely scattered hail, fires, and tornadoes left many producers reeling. USDA in the early years of the Clinton Administration got high marks, under Secretary Espy’s leadership, for improving the Federal responsiveness to natural disasters. States quickly noticed a difference under the new Administration, as USDA cut through piles of red tape to ensure immediate assistance to people in need, from temporary housing and low-interest farm loans to nutrition assistance.

But for most producers, Mother Nature’s blows were softened by the otherwise buoyant farm economy. By 1996, prices and exports were at or near record levels, and the future looked bright.

For USDA's Farm Service Agency, the task was manageable: identify those who suffered losses and administer emergency assistance quickly. The new agency did its job well. In 1993, USDA paid 254,628 producers almost \$964 million in disaster payments...within a 2-week period, as farm program assistance rose from under \$10 billion the previous year to over \$16 billion.

At the time, few could imagine what the future held.

A lone voice of caution came on April 4, 1996 when, at the signing of the Federal Agricultural Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (the 1996 Act), President Clinton expressed deep reservations that this Bill would fail to adequately protect farmers and ranchers when prices were low. His concerns were well founded. The imminent collapse of key export economies coupled with bumper-crop production around the globe precipitated a free fall in prices that affected nearly every commodity group. In many cases prices fell to their lowest levels in decades. Farm incomes dropped dramatically--nearly 20 percent in 1998 from the 1996 peak. This was just the beginning of an ongoing "price crisis" that threatened thousands of family farms.

Unfortunately, the 1996 Act left USDA with few tools to help farmers through this crisis. The few provisions of the 1996 Act that actually provided assistance, market transition and loan deficiency payments, took on unforeseen importance in shoring up farm incomes and offsetting low prices. But, for the most part, the 1996 Act proved woefully inadequate during this difficult period.

Undaunted, the Administration took the challenge head-on, attacking on two fronts: providing adequate emergency assistance, while working creatively to address the root causes of the ongoing crisis.

The first task was to secure emergency Congressional appropriations sufficient to stop the bleeding. Congress eventually responded to the Administration's hard work by appropriating nearly \$4 billion, significantly less than was hoped for. President Clinton, recognizing that the amount was insufficient, vetoed the appropriation. Thanks to the Administration's firm stand, farmers in the end received an emergency appropriation totaling \$5.9 billion, the first in an annual series of emergency aid packages that by the end of 2000, the President's final term, would total nearly \$25 billion.

Though this assistance would make the difference for thousands of farm families, for many farmers, their problems were just beginning. While a tide of low prices swept over commodity after commodity, the summers of 1998, 1999, and 2000 brought more bad weather that caused billions of dollars in losses in 45 States. Until the 1999 drought, the plight of farmers had gone largely unnoticed by the general public, overshadowed by a Nation in the midst of an historic economic expansion. That all changed when Secretary Glickman, Under Secretary August Schumacher, and Farm Service Agency Administrator Keith Kelly toured a series of drought-stricken farms in West Virginia and Maryland. In one afternoon, the USDA officials drew the Nation's attention to the plight of farmers and ranchers. The resulting news frenzy effectively

jump-started a stalled \$1.6 billion emergency appropriation in Congress, one that ensured the survival of thousands of family farms.

While this aid was clearly necessary, this tourniquet approach--ad-hoc emergency farm legislation--became a recurring and controversial means of helping farmers through this period. While the aid was important, the Administration worried that Congress was intent to rely almost solely on this form of assistance, rather than admitting to the flaws of the new Farm Bill and crafting a real farm safety net. The Administration also believed that much of the aid was poorly targeted. During the three years from 1997 through 2000, Congress passed no fewer than eight pieces of emergency farm legislation in excess of \$20 billion, and authorized a whopping 70 new programs, many of which USDA had to implement with little guidance.

A New Set of Guiding Principles

By applying the tools and resources available--farm credit, farm price and income support programs, risk management, food aid, export credit, conservation incentives and more--USDA used virtually every tool left in the wake of the 1996 Act to help farmers through the growing crisis. Slowly a new approach took shape. It was this new approach that, in the Spring of 1999 Secretary Glickman established as a core set of "guiding principles," that the Administration felt should drive farm policy well into the future.

- *Farm programs should support farmers, not commodities.* The Administration argued that Government payments should be based on farm income rather than crop prices, because it is overall farm income that ensures U.S. producers can continue working the land and enjoy a decent standard of living. The old commodity-driven system, the Administration maintained, allowed too many producers to slip through the cracks. The Administration also believed that traditional U.S. farm policy encouraged the massive consolidation that had swept through agriculture in recent decades because when farm support is issued on a per-bushel or per-pound basis, the larger farm operations receive the bigger payments.
- *U.S. farm policy should be more comprehensive and national in scope.* While the 1996 Act professed to encourage planting flexibility, four years after its enactment, the Nation continued to have a narrow, seven-crop, regional system that doesn't support or reward farmers for branching out into new and specialty crops that offer strong market opportunities. This broader scope also must reflect the true geographic diversity of American agriculture. As Secretary Glickman explained it in his 2000 Agricultural Outlook speech, "It wasn't until last summer's drought, which was centered in the Northeast and mid-Atlantic regions, that certain people ... began to realize that there are actually farmers in these parts of the country. In fact, from Maine to Virginia, there are 200,000 farmers. They too deserve support and protection."
- *USDA risk management programs must become more affordable and inclusive.* The most glaring example of the exclusivity of U.S. farm policy was the fact that Congress barred

USDA from providing, through the Federal crop insurance program, affordable protection for livestock--even though ranchers account for about half of the U.S. farm economy. The Administration repeatedly pressed for such coverage. They also advocated lifting the area-wide trigger on USDA's Non-Insured Assistance Program, making it easier for farmers of uninsurable crops to receive help after a major loss.

- *Conservation must be a centerpiece of farm policy, not an afterthought.* By creating incentives for all farmers to be environmentally responsible, the Clinton Administration firmly believed that Government could boost farm income at the same time it encouraged farmers and ranchers to protect the Nation's natural resources. As Secretary Glickman explained in his 2000 Agricultural Outlook remarks, "the land is not something that can be replaced like a piece of machinery. We need to respect it above and beyond its crop-producing capability; we must recognize it for what it is: our most valuable commodity of all. Long after this year's crop is grown, harvested and sold--and the next year's and the next year's--what still will remain is the land. We must hand it to the next generation in as good a shape as we found it. And we can do that while still having an agriculture sector that is productive and profitable.
- *Rural development policy is an integral part of U.S. farm policy.* The Clinton Administration was quick to recognize that most people in modern-day America could no longer make a decent living in production agriculture alone. A disappointing truth for many, yet the fact remained that more and more farmers needed to supplement their income with off-farm opportunities. Quite often, this dual-income approach was the only way for family farmers to stay on the land. These changing realities made it all the more important that rural farm communities diversify their economies and create an environment where entrepreneurship can flourish. It also made clear the importance of strong Federal programs to ensure these communities have a sound physical and information infrastructure that can attract economic opportunities and discourage the out-migration of young people from rural areas.¹

This philosophy for a more inclusive and responsive U.S. farm safety net was first shared with the country in the Spring of 1999 by Secretary Glickman. It is a strong vision that can help ensure a bright, secure future for U.S. agriculture. It is a vision developed after years of effort on behalf of struggling farmers and ranchers across the country. What follows is a detailed account of those efforts.

Farm Credit: Helping Farmers Help Themselves

Providing credit is a critical function of USDA, especially during difficult economic periods. As the farm crisis deepened in the late 1990s farmers and ranchers found commercial credit more difficult to obtain, making USDA credit even more important.

¹ For a detailed discussion of the rural development legacy of the Clinton Administration, please see Chapter 6.

By 1999 USDA farm lending had increased 70 percent from 1992, providing nearly \$4 billion in credit—a 14-year high. In responding to the myriad of weather-related disasters, USDA's emergency lending program emerged as a critically important tool. In fact, during the drought-plagued summer of 1999, USDA approved \$330 million in emergency, low-interest loans to nearly 4,000 farmers.

Recognizing that USDA receives more than 30,000 requests for new loans each year, the Clinton Administration focused on making it easier for farmers and ranchers to get much needed financial assistance. Several times the President went to Congress to request additional funds to expand the loan program and help more farmers and ranchers. For example, in 1999, widespread natural disasters and the weak farm economy placed unprecedented demands on USDA's farm loan programs. The use of USDA direct and guaranteed loans increased more than 75 percent over the previous year. So the President asked Congress for \$110 million in emergency funding to meet the increased demand for farm credit.

Recognizing, as well, that accessibility of Government loan programs is vital, the Clinton Administration—primarily under the auspices of Vice President Gore's "reinventing government" initiative—streamlined its farm loan procedures by: reducing the time required to approve applications for loan guarantees, making the loan approval process more consistent, and reducing paperwork. As a result, USDA during the Clinton years processed a record number of loans for farmers and ranchers quickly and efficiently—reducing the loan approval process from six weeks to two weeks. As examples, USDA's guaranteed loan program application was streamlined to one page for loans of less than \$50,000. The Department slashed 1,200 pages of farm loan regulations from its books and cut in half the number of required forms. It also created a Preferred Lender Program to encourage more lenders to help smaller producers.

Other changes as part of USDA's overhaul of its farm loan programs included: expanding the Certified Lender Program; consolidating forms to reduce paperwork; reducing requirements for historical documentation; reducing appraisal requirements; and expanding purposes for which lines of credit may be used. Other regulatory changes were made to ease the financial burden on farmers who had debts forgiven under past USDA farm loan programs.

President Clinton and his two agriculture secretaries shared a firm commitment to ensuring USDA farm programs were available to all producers. Toward this end in 1997, USDA extended its maximum loan guarantees to beginning farmers to 95 percent of the purchase. This action was part of an ongoing effort to help folks starting out in agriculture. It also provided a means for retiring farmers to transfer their land to a new generation. USDA also increased direct farm ownership and operating loans made to minority and women farmers by 74 percent from 1995 to 1999. Between 1995 and 1998, USDA increased its farm lending to Native Americans from \$2 million in 1995 to more than \$29 million in 1999. Overall lending to socially disadvantaged farmers and ranchers rose by 44 percent, from 1998 to 1999 alone.

Making a Stand for Small Farms

When the Clinton Administration took office, U.S. agriculture was continuing a trend toward fewer and larger operations. While many saw this trend toward more efficient and globally competitive corporate farms as inevitable – even beneficial in terms of consumer prices – President Clinton was determined to also ensure a bright future for small family farmers and ranchers.

On July 16, 1997, Secretary Glickman appointed a National Commission on Small Farms. Their report, *A Time to Act*, provided a series of recommendations based on testimony gathered at national meetings. President Clinton declared that he would match – dollar for dollar – the report's call for a substantial increase in direct farm loans. This helped 1,000 beginning farmers get on the land and 12,000 more to stay there.

Through these and other positive actions, the Administration made a substantial down payment on the future of the small family farm. In 1999, President Clinton's USDA made protecting and promoting America's small farms an explicit part of the Department's mission. Secretary Glickman also established an external Advisory Committee on Small Farms and an internal Council on Small Farms. These entities recommend and coordinate USDA actions to enhance the viability and economic opportunities of small farms and ranches.

A sustained Clinton Administration commitment to family farmers and ranchers also helped deliver:

- Intensified outreach to small, limited-resource, and minority farmers. For example, several agencies sponsored a conference for limited resource farmers in Tennessee and California to help them earn more by planting alternative crops, and by using new production and marketing methods.
- New rules to make livestock and poultry market transaction information available to the public and to make production contracts less complicated.
- Improved access to fair and open markets for family farmers through increased efforts to monitor unfair market practices.
- A \$25-million initiative to increase risk management education and crop insurance products available to farmers in 15 under-served States.

These are just a few examples of the many efforts to protect and promote America's small farms carried out by the Clinton Administration. Perhaps the strongest indicator of their success, was the answer given to the question posed by Secretary Glickman when he first created the National Commission on Small Farms: "What role – if any – should the Federal Government play given the very determined trend toward larger and fewer farms? Can Government help or would we be paddling hopelessly upstream." Secretary Glickman went on to share his opinion: "The question

is not big versus little,” he said, “but can we find a meaningful way for the two to coexist? I ‘d like to think that the answer is yes.”

Secretary Glickman got his answer in February of 2000 when USDA’s National Agricultural Statistics Service released new numbers on the makeup of the U.S. farm economy. It found that while the total amount of farm acreage declined slightly in the United States in 1999, the number of small farms in America actually increased for the first time in years.

Farm Programs: Supporting Farmers and Ranchers

Though the 1996 Act eliminated some of the support programs that made up the traditional farm safety net, the role of USDA farm programs could not have become more central to the Administration’s efforts to assist struggling farmers and ranchers. By the latter part of the decade, USDA’s Farm Service Agency was saddled with an enormous task: administering a myriad of new emergency programs. While most were authorized through Congressional legislation, several were the product of the Administration’s creative and innovative application of decades-old authorities.

As prices collapsed for commodity after commodity, the list of commodities needing assistance grew: dairy, pork, oilseeds, sheep, lamb, apples, tobacco, onions, peanut, potatoes, cotton seed, citrus, cranberries, livestock, wool, mohair. Few were spared from the price depression.

A record \$20.6 billion in Federal direct payments, the highest in history, was delivered to America’s farmers and ranchers in 1999, including more than \$5 billion in market transition payments, \$5.9 billion in loan deficiency payments, more than \$5.5 billion in market loss assistance payments, more than \$400 million in livestock and dairy assistance, more than \$1.8 billion in conservation payments, and almost \$2 billion for crop losses. This staggering amount easily eclipsed the previous high of \$16.7 billion in 1987.

USDA employees worked tirelessly, often distributing payments to producers in days. This required extra effort or creative thinking. The collapse of pork prices in the winter of 1998 is an excellent example. Consolidation in the hog market inflicted devastatingly low prices on hog farmers—the lowest since the 1940s, and far below those needed to recover costs. Using an authority not used in decades, USDA created a \$50-million Small Hog Operation Payment Program. Employees set up a toll-free hotline to get information on this new resource out to farmers quickly. Ultimately, nearly 60,000 mostly smaller hog producers received payments under this program.

The Flood Compensation Program disbursed \$42 million to producers whose agricultural land was subject to long-term flooding and could not be used for crop production or grazing. This assistance went to producers in five States, including those in the Devil’s Lake region of eastern North Dakota and the Prairie Pothole region of South Dakota. Flooding in these areas began as early as 1993 and continued through 1999.

Virtually an afterthought when crafting the 1996 Act, USDA loan deficiency payments took on tremendous significance as prices tumbled. By mid-1999, it was delivering \$3.7 billion in assistance, a 20-fold increase from 1997.

Realizing that farmers needed better marketing flexibility and relief from storage shortages, USDA began making seven-year, low-cost loans to farmers in 2000 to help build or upgrade commodity storage and handling facilities. As of September, 27, 2000, FSA had approved 1,585 loans totaling \$46.9 million in 29 States. By this date, 244 new facilities had been completed – increasing on-farm storage capacity by 31.2 million bushels, so fewer farmers are forced to market during periods of low prices.

Between 1998 and 2000, the USDA Farm Service Agency developed and administered approximately 70 programs supporting farmers and ranchers. All told, in the three years between 1998 and 2000 USDA administered a staggering \$60 billion in direct payments and crop insurance indemnities to producers.

Disaster Assistance

Many times through the 1990s, Secretary Glickman authorized emergency grazing and haying on all but the most environmentally sensitive conservation reserve acres, in an effort to assist struggling cattle producers. Disaster relief for livestock producers was offered through various livestock indemnity and assistance programs. During the worst period of drought, parts of 44 States were declared agricultural disaster areas, making emergency low-interest loans available to tens of thousands of hard-hit farmers.

Responding to the severity of the drought, a policy commission was established to develop a new national drought policy. The commission studied current drought preparedness and reviewed laws and programs. It made recommendations on ways to integrate Federal and non-Federal drought relief programs to improve services without infringing on State control of water resources. It also recommended measures for public education on drought prevention and mitigation.

Another unusually severe natural disaster – an ice storm--struck New England in 1998. USDA responded quickly to requests for emergency food assistance and helped dairy farmers in the worst-hit areas. Farm Service Agency personnel were there to assess damage and match scarce resources to critical needs, such as getting electrical generators to dairy farms suffering power outages. USDA also made emergency loans for production and property losses caused by the storms.

Being hit with so many disaster programs to administer, USDA streamlined its procedures to reduce the burden on farmers and ranchers to receive aid. In many cases, producers came to a local office to find a completed application for disaster aid ready for their verification and signature.

Risk Management

Federally backed crop insurance first surfaced in the 1930s when the hardships of the Dust Bowl and the Great Depression underscored the need to provide some form of insurance protection for farmers. But it was not until the Federal Crop Insurance Act of 1980 that the program expanded beyond major crops in major agricultural areas. However, this legislation was not sufficient to prevent what has been a continuing phenomenon for the agricultural economy in hard times--*ad hoc* disaster programs. As part of the Clinton Administration's efforts to develop more effective and proactive tools to help farmers better manage all of the risks inherent in agriculture, it supported two major crop insurance reforms.

Federal Crop Insurance Reform Act of 1994

At the beginning of the Clinton administration, disastrous floods in the Midwest and a drought in the Southeast showed the limitations of existing agricultural disaster assistance programs. Traveling extensively in the affected areas, President Clinton and Secretary Espy spoke directly with, and listened to, farmers facing financial ruin to determine what was working and what needed work. These conversations resulted in an ambitious reform initiative announced by Secretary Espy on March 2, 1994. The Act was both a vital budget reform as well as a major agricultural policy reform.

For many farmers, the expectation of "free" *ad hoc* relief deterred their participation in the crop insurance program. The result? A vicious cycle. Only one-third of eligible acres were covered by crop insurance, so when disaster struck, the cry was loud for costly *ad hoc* assistance. The availability of *ad hoc* assistance was inherently uncertain, inequitable and costly--averaging about \$1.5 billion per year on top of the \$900 million per year paid out under crop insurance. The Clinton Administration set its sights on eliminating the need for two costly programs to solve one problem--while still maintaining a sturdy farm safety net.

The Administration resolved this situation by proposing to fuse crop insurance and disaster aid into a single program that provided farmers with a predictable level of protection. The Act enjoyed wide bipartisan support in the Congress, and was signed into law on October 13, 1994.

Once the reforms were in place, crop insurance participation jumped from 33 percent of eligible acres to 80 percent. For the first time in U.S. history, the vast majority of eligible farmers had the security of knowing in advance the amount of their protection, and American taxpayers had a tool to rein in unbudgeted disaster assistance spending.

Getting Crop Insurance on a Sound Financial Footing

Prior to 1993, the crop insurance program was bleeding red ink. From 1981 to 1993, the overall loss ratio averaged 1.47. This means that USDA paid out about \$1.47 in claims for every \$1.00 collected in premiums. President Clinton's 1993 economic package, which set the country on its historic course toward a balanced budget, required the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation to achieve an overall projected loss ratio of 1.1 by October 1, 1995, and 1.075 by October 1, 1998. Without reducing the average 1.47 loss ratio, U.S. taxpayers would have paid out an extra \$5.1 billion in excess underwriting expenses.

Agricultural Risk Protection Act of 2000

The Federal Crop Insurance Reform Act of 1994 produced phenomenal growth in the amount of protection farmers carried, and farmers enjoyed rising prices and expanding markets for several years. But when the Asian economic crisis hit in 1997 and global overproduction of many commodities caused prices to plunge, President Clinton's warning about an inadequate safety net became an all too real threat, as it became painfully apparent that more measures were needed to keep U.S. farmers afloat.

For example, while many more producers now carried some protection, the coverage level selected was often too low to provide much assistance in the event of a crop loss. To make matters worse, many farmers in parts of the country which suffered a series of natural disasters, saw the amount of their protection dwindle to dangerously low levels. USDA also was specifically prohibited by law from offering insurance protection for livestock, which accounts for nearly half of the U.S. agricultural economy.

To address these weaknesses, the Administration actively sought producer opinions and solutions through a series of listening sessions and conferences. These grassroots efforts resulted in an \$11.5 billion initiative to strengthen the farm safety net, an 80 percent increase over past funding. Secretary Glickman made clear that this new endeavor reflected a new philosophy for the future:

"As you know, many in the farm sector have not shared in the overall national prosperity. That's why the USDA budget includes a new safety net proposal worth \$11.5 billion over the next two years.... It includes targeted, counter-cyclical income assistance, as well as increased conservation assistance, improved risk management tools and new market opportunities for farmers. I believe that this plan represents a shift in farm policy philosophy, one that I hope will guide lawmakers (for years to come)."²

²Dan Glickman, Feb. 7, 2000, Announcement of USDA FY 2001 Budget

Key elements of the initiative included making higher levels of coverage affordable, increasing coverage for producers suffering multiple years of losses, developing a livestock pilot program, expanding research and education efforts, encouraging the development of new risk management products, improving the noninsured crop disaster assistance program, and increasing oversight to improve the integrity of the crop insurance program.

The Administration's proposal was substantially reflected in the Agricultural Risk Protection Act of 2000, which President Clinton signed into law on June 20, 2000. The bill had broad-based, bipartisan support. Within days of enactment, USDA made 60 percent of the 5-year, \$8.2 billion package available to farmers. But at the bill signing ceremony, President Clinton made clear that this legislation was merely a first step in righting the wrongs of the 1996 Act and building a true farm safety net for the future. "While this bill is important, it still fails to fix what is plainly an unsuccessful farm policy," President Clinton said. "We should be targeting assistance where it's truly needed, instead of making payments to farmers who haven't planted a crop and who don't need our help. That's why we need to revise, revamp, and improve the 1996 Freedom To Farm Bill--to build a safety net that adequately protects our Nation's farmers."

Meeting the Demand for Risk Management Tools

By eliminating New Deal farm programs, the 1996 Farm Bill shifted more of the burden of agricultural risk from the Government to farmers. In the absence of a sturdy farm safety net, increased risk, coupled with sustained low commodity prices, pushed many farmers to the financial edge. To help farmers manage their increased risks, USDA aggressively enhanced and expanded the quality, types, and availability of crop insurance protection. By 2000, USDA's Risk Management Agency provided protection to farmers through 36,262 county crop insurance programs. The Agency also created new programs for commodities like aquaculture and dairy products. It also developed new specialty and whole-farm risk management products.

As evidenced by two major crop insurance reform initiatives, the Clinton Administration worked successfully to provide farmers more coverage at a lower cost. Innovative programs like the whole-farm income product described above mean more coverage for more producers. Participation in the crop insurance program means protection in the event of a natural disaster. But this coverage also helps farmers secure operating loans, aggressively market a portion of their crop, and plan for the future.

AIDING AGRICULTURE'S DIVERSE FUTURE

David and Lorraine Tuttle live on the family farm that has been producing crops since 1743. Though David had been active with his local Farm Service Agency office for many years, it wasn't until 1997 that he became interested in crop insurance— when USDA launched its Adjusted Gross Revenue pilot program, which bases coverage on historic Schedule F tax forms, rather than crop data.

By offering coverage for a wide range of the Tuttle's crops that were ineligible for traditional crop insurance, the new program sounded attractive. To buy the most coverage, a producer must grow at least eight different commodities. On the Tuttle farm, crops can range from asparagus to zucchini and a variety of fruit and berries, with some acreage devoted to corn and potatoes. The Tuttles also have 115 acres in the Maine Certified Tree Farm program, and some land set aside for pasture.

Originally, the Tuttle family sold to wholesalers. But in 1993 they began retailing their produce in a farm stand. Today 85 percent of their produce is sold there, allowing the family to keep more of the retail price of the food they produce on the farm. By 2000, the Tuttle farm had added greenhouses that produce a third of the farm's income through the sale of nursery products.

As this diverse farm thrives, thanks in part to the Clinton Administration's efforts to extend Federal crop insurance beyond traditional row crops, Tuttle's oldest son plans to join the family business upon his graduation from college.

As a result of the Clinton Administration's persistence, participation in Federal crop insurance programs has increased dramatically. In 1999, nearly \$30.9 billion in protection was provided on 196 million acres through more than 1.8 million policies. This level of protection is almost 2 ½ times the \$13.6 billion protection on the 100 million acres insured in 1994.

Embracing a World of Opportunity

American agriculture is the leading positive contributor to the U.S. trade balance. As commodity prices fell and global competition for key agricultural markets heated up, the Administration understood that a world marketplace free of trade barriers were key to ensuring the United States would remain a major exporter of agricultural products. It also understood that nowhere was there more opportunity to decrease farmers and ranchers reliance on Government payments than to increase the market opportunities that existed among the 6 billion consumers who live outside the United States.

Not only did the Clinton Administration understand how important expanded global market opportunities were to America's farmers and ranchers, so — by and large — did U.S. agriculture. As President Clinton eked out significant victory after significant victory in the U.S. Congress on the often divisive issue of trade, time after time U.S. agriculture delivered critical support that

tipped the balance in favor of some of the Administration's greatest trade achievements – from the North American Free Trade Agreement in the early Clinton-Gore years to Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China in 2000.

As a result of this strong alliance between U.S. agriculture and the Clinton Administration on trade, Secretary Glickman and Secretary Espy used USDA's foreign agricultural programs vigorously--not only to promote a strong U.S. farm economy by expanding U.S. export opportunities, but also to build a foundation of free and fair trade in food and fiber around the world, a foundation that would ensure a strong U.S. farm economy, a principled global economy and a more food secure world.

Expanding Global Markets

As a result of the Administration's myriad efforts to open new markets, combat unfair trade barriers, and expand U.S. agriculture's opportunities around the world, U.S. agricultural exports reached \$50.9 billion for 2000, an \$8.3 billion gain from 1993. Exports passed \$50 billion in 1995, and climbed to a record \$60 billion in 1996. But as commodity prices dropped and a global financial crisis drove down demand, exports--like the rest of the farm economy--took a hit. Nevertheless the 2000 level was higher than any annual export level achieved before the record-setting mid-1990s.

Foreign markets are vital to U.S. farmers and ranchers. These consumers buy about one-third of U.S. crops. These exports markets also are critical to a continued strong U.S. economy. Agricultural exports support about 750,000 American jobs. Only one-third of these jobs are in rural areas.

The Birth of the World Trade Organization

For U.S. agriculture, no event was as significant as the negotiation of the Uruguay Round Agreement under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which was concluded in 1994. As a result of this round of negotiations, agriculture-- for the first time--was brought under this broad agreement for free and fair trade around the world. The agreement established the World Trade Organization (WTO) and a new dispute settlement process. In the agriculture arena, trade-distorting internal support and export subsidies were capped and reduced. The dispute settlement process was improved and a new appeals process was instituted to ensure that the new rules are applied fairly. Thanks to these new rules, the United States filed 15 successful complaints, which ultimately led to the opening of a wide variety of markets, from U.S. apples being sold in Japan to U.S. beef being sold in Korea, to U.S. grains having fair access to markets in the European Union. Disciplines were also imposed on Canadian dairy export subsidies. When all was said and done, the Clinton Administration successfully raised more than 80 compliance issues involving approximately \$2.5 billion in U.S. agricultural exports.

From the original 128 members, the WTO grew to 139 members during the Clinton-Gore Administration. China and Taiwan are working toward accession. The accession of additional countries to the WTO further ensures that principles of free and fair trade are the true foundation

of the modern global economy—ensuring better market access, lower tariffs, and predictable standards for trade in food and agricultural products. Taiwan’s WTO accession agreement with the United States was completed in February 1998. Under this agreement, which is in preparation for its hoped-for accession to the WTO, Taiwan immediately cut tariffs on 15 key U.S. commodities and began to phase in imports of previously-banned chicken meat, pork bellies, pork offals, and beef offals. The United States dominated these new imports—exporting 23,940 metric tons of the 33,042 tons allocated for these products in 1999.

In 1999, the U.S.-China Agricultural Cooperation Agreement opened China’s market for the first time in more than 20 years to U.S. citrus, meat and wheat. China’s accession to the WTO was conditional on signing a market access agreement with the United States. This occurred in November of 1999, and the United States granted Permanent Normal Trade Relations to China in October 2000.

Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China

Throughout its tenure, the Clinton Administration made several attempts to get Congress to normalize trade relations with China. A study done by USDA economists that projected an increase of \$2 billion in global U.S. agricultural exports should China gain entrance into the World Trade Organization. In other words, if Congress stood with President Clinton, U.S. farmers and ranchers would stand among the biggest winners due to sharply greater access to the immense Chinese market. Speaking at the 2000 Agricultural Outlook Conference, Secretary Glickman said:

“When it’s all said and done, based on conservative estimates, Chinese membership in the WTO will mean an additional \$2 billion a year in U.S. farm exports to China by 2005. A no vote ... is a vote to cede this lucrative market to the EU, Canada, Australia, Argentina and others. It would be a kind of unilateral economic disarmament. This may be the biggest test yet of our Nation’s commitment to a global economy based on fair trade principles. We all know how vocal and intense the opposition can be on trade issues. We saw it in 1997 with fast track. We saw it just a few months ago in Seattle. The President will devote considerable time, energy and political capital to the NTR fight. And, I hope the agriculture community will as well.”

In the end, President Clinton secured this significant trade victory, and analysts agree that it was largely the support of U.S. agriculture that made the difference. This victory was an important foreign policy achievement for the President, but it was also critical to the Administration’s

efforts to expand market global opportunities for U.S. farmers and ranchers in order to fuel a strong 21st century U.S. farm economy.

The North American Free Trade Agreement

The victory in expanding U.S. agriculture's opportunities in China topped off eight years of cliffhanger triumphs on trade policy that the Clinton-Gore Administration eked out by rallying a slim bipartisan majority in Congress. This majority understood that the future of both a strong U.S. economy and global economic and political stability hinged on fostering free and fair trade around the world. In 1992, the U.S., Canada, and Mexico signed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which addresses barriers to agricultural trade between the three nations. When President Clinton came into office, he was left with the difficult job of getting the U.S. Congress to ratify the agreement. This was the first test of his ability to pull together a bipartisan majority on trade issues. From the start the "leg work" of Secretary Espy and other leaders of U.S. agriculture was critical. But that hard work paid off. The agricultural sectors of all three countries—the United States, Canada and Mexico—have benefitted greatly from the liberalized environment created by NAFTA. Exports and imports of agricultural products have reached record levels between all parties. U.S. exports to our two neighboring countries steadily expanded during the Clinton-Gore years as tariffs and other barriers were reduced or eliminated. Between 1995 and 1999, U.S. agricultural exports to Mexico increased by \$2.1 billion or 60 percent, and exports to Canada rose by nearly \$1.3 billion or 22 percent. In 1998, U.S. exports to Canada topped \$7 billion for the first time. In 2000, Canada and Mexico ranked as the No.2 and No. 3 largest U.S. agricultural export markets, behind Japan.

To further enhance trade and reduce complex non-tariff barriers, a Consultative Committee on Agriculture was established with Canada in 1998. As part of the process, a Provincial-State Advisory Group was created to give State and local officials and producers a forum for raising regional trade concerns with the two nations' Governments. The U.S. went on to establish similar consultative committees with Chile (in 1997), Argentina (in 1998) and Brazil (in 2000). The committees provide a vital government-to-government framework to address issues such as agricultural market access; agricultural marketing, regulation, and safety of food products; development of positions before international standard-setting bodies; and agricultural research and technical exchanges.

The Clinton Administration also laid the groundwork for the expansion of NAFTA to all of Central and South America. Negotiations to achieve a Free Trade Agreement of the Americas were initiated in 1994, with the aim of creating the world's largest free trade zone. The governments of the 34 countries of the Western Hemisphere agreed to conclude these negotiations by the end of 2005. This breakthrough will ensure that U.S. producers gain liberalized access to a market of 675 million people, with a combined consumer buying power of \$1.5 trillion. Countries have agreed to specific measures to make it easier for companies to do business throughout the hemisphere. In addition, they agreed to pursue the elimination of agricultural export subsidies as a common objective in WTO trade negotiations.

Sanctions Reform Sets Aside Trade in Food

In April of 1999, President Clinton announced sweeping sanctions reforms to open new foreign markets to U.S. agricultural exports. Despite continuing sanctions on most other products, American farmers and ranchers—thanks to President Clinton’s decision—were able to sell their commodities to Iran, Libya, and Sudan. By the fall of 2000, sales made under the new mandate, included 29,000 tons of hard red winter wheat to Sudan, 20,000 tons of durum to Libya, and more than 600,000 tons of corn to Iran. In general, the Clinton Administration felt that commercial exports of food and other human necessities should not be used as tools of foreign policy. The President’s actions on sanctions policy paved the way for Congress to pass sanctions reform legislation as part of the Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2001, opening the way for future U.S. exports of food and medicine to Cuba.

Exploring New Markets and Sharpening U.S. Agriculture’s Competitive Edge

On July 13, 2000, President Clinton signed the U.S.- Vietnam Bilateral Trade Agreement. This agreement will significantly open the Vietnamese market to U.S. agricultural exports by cutting tariffs as much as 30 percent on a wide range of U.S. farm products. These cuts will be fully implemented three years after the agreement is approved by the U.S. Congress and Vietnam’s National Assembly.

During the Clinton-Gore Administration, USDA used a variety of export market development programs aggressively to maintain U.S. agriculture’s competitive edge in a hotly contested global marketplace. For example, from 1993 to 2000, USDA’s export credit guarantee programs supported sales of about \$26 billion in U.S. agricultural products. These programs encourage exports of U.S. agricultural products to countries where private-sector financing for these exports may not be available. In 1998, during the height of the Asian economic crisis, USDA made \$1.5 billion in credit guarantees available to exporters for the sale of U.S. agricultural products, mostly to South Korea.

President Clinton’s USDA also developed a Supplier Credit Guarantee Program to address foreign buyers’ desires for more consumer-ready products and more attractive payment terms. In addition, a Facility Guarantee Program was launched in 1998 to provide guarantees for the sale of capital goods and services to improve or establish agriculture-related infrastructure in emerging markets, where demand for U.S. products may be constricted due to a lack of storage, processing or handling facilities.

USDA also reinvented the planning and application process for its major export market development programs. This dramatically reduced paperwork requirements and improved the efficiency of the programs. It encouraged exporters to develop market-specific strategies for expanding their economic opportunities, ensuring a more effective use of USDA’s full arsenal of market development programs.

Expanding the Definition of the Farm Safety Net

Trade efforts, rural development efforts and conservation efforts all were integral to the Clinton-Gore Administration's vision of a strong farm safety net for the 21st century. Throughout the Administration's tenure, Secretary Espy and Secretary Glickman took every opportunity they could to minimize economic hardships facing America's farmers and ranchers and to exploit new opportunities that showed the promise of real growth – from supporting the growing market for organic agriculture to reforming one of the most politically charged programs at USDA to eradicating animal health issues to supporting a strong agricultural research agenda.

The First National Standards for Organic Food

In 1989, a television report was broadcast alerting the public to the use of a carcinogenic pesticide, Alar, in apple production. This focused attention on the fact that there was an alternative to food grown with the aid of chemicals—organically produced food.

Members of the organic food industry came to Congress and asked for legislation that would mandate the creation of national standards for the production of organic food. The Organic Food Production Act was passed as part of the 1990 Farm Bill. Work on the standards was slow. The first Congressional appropriation paid one-half of one person's salary.

The priority placed on this effort changed with the arrival of the Clinton Administration. By 1994, the staff was expanded to eight persons and work began in earnest. In 1997, USDA issued the first proposed national standards for the production and processing of organic food. The Department received an unprecedented 275,603 comments (most urging that the standards be even more strict).

President Clinton's USDA listened. On March 7, 2000, Secretary Glickman announced revised standards. The final standards, the most comprehensive and strict organic rules in the world, were put in place at the end of 2000.

USDA's goal for national organic standards was to ensure that they are:

- Strict in what is acceptable as organic;
- Precise in their definition of organic;
- Easy for consumers to understand; and
- Through their uniformity, create more economic potential for the Nation's 12,000 organic farmers—a number that is growing and will continue to grow as a result of these standards.

Thanks to the Administration's diligent efforts, and the strong participation of U.S. consumers and organic farmers in the process, consumers will know what they are buying, and farmers will know what is expected of them. By establishing uniform national organic standards, President Clinton's USDA smoothed the way for even more growth in organic agriculture and the further development of a promising and growing new market for U.S. farmers.

Federal Milk Marketing Order Reform

When the Clinton Administration took office, one of the most divisive issues facing agriculture was the need to reform the 60-year-old Federal Milk Marketing Order program. The process of having the Federal Government set forth the terms of trade between buyers and sellers of milk based on an archaic system that divided the country into 33 milk marketing areas, had led to bitter disputes about regional price inequities among dairy farmers.

While there was broad agreement that milk marketing orders need to move toward greater market orientation. If one started talking specifics, that consensus promptly broke down. Yet in 1996, Congress “punted” on the issue – ordering President Clinton’s USDA to take on the divisive, politically explosive, but certainly necessary challenge of reform.

In wading into the divisive issue by putting out an initial proposal, Secretary Glickman invited everyone into the debate. “Our proposal gives America a more reasonable, contemporary dairy policy,” Glickman said. “Some folks will say it doesn’t go far enough. Others will say it’s too radical. That tells me that I’m in the right vicinity. But I invite everyone into this debate ... We have a real chance to avert a crisis and create a real opportunity here. But it will require all of us to wade through what has been a highly emotional issue and achieve some national consensus. We owe that to America’s dairy farmers.” When the process was done, USDA had received 8,000 comments on its proposal.

USDA analyzed all aspects of the program as well as the public input. The Department was committed to ensuring that the changes would not unduly harm small dairy farmers and processing plants. USDA issued a final decision on March 12, 1999, consolidating the milk marketing orders from 33 to 11, establishing a national Class I price surface, modernizing the formula used for pricing milk, and making other revisions to improve the program. Congress also overturned the Administration’s reform of the Class I price surface.

Completion of this project was a significant accomplishment for President Clinton’s USDA, especially in light of the complexity of the program and divisiveness that existed in the dairy industry. USDA demonstrated unprecedented initiative and leadership that resulted in a more streamlined, efficient and market-oriented program.

Eradicating Animal Health Problems

Animal diseases and pests cost producers millions of dollars each year in direct losses and costs associated with eliminating them. But livestock producers are not the only ones burdened by animal diseases and pests; the resulting higher food prices affect all Americans. As the Clinton Administration sought out every opportunity to improve the outlook for the U.S. farm economy, it made a priority of working to eradicate animal diseases and pests that posed significant risks to U.S. agricultural resources. By accelerating programs to eradicate bovine tuberculosis, brucellosis, and pseudorabies, President Clinton’s USDA successfully reduced the risks and costs associated with these diseases.

The success of the brucellosis eradication program is a good example of the results USDA's Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service achieved under the leadership of the Clinton Administration. Brucellosis causes abortions, infertility, and lowered milk production in cattle and bison. Brucellosis also impacts human health—causing potentially fatal undulant fever. It is a particularly stubborn disease to eliminate because the bacteria that cause it can survive in the environment for long periods of time. Additionally, the incubation period for exposed animals is long and variable.

In 1997, USDA established the Brucellosis Emergency Action Plan. Thanks to an enhanced cooperative Federal-State-industry effort, only two cattle herds and one bison herd in the entire country carried the disease in 2000. The last reservoir for the disease is free-roaming bison and elk herds in the Greater Yellowstone Area. USDA has taken an active role with other Federal and State agencies in efforts to reduce the potential for transmission of brucellosis from infected bison to livestock and disease-free bison and elk populations in the Greater Yellowstone Area. The end result? Greater economic opportunities for U.S. ranchers and safer food for all who enjoy their products.

Supporting a Strong Agricultural Research Agenda

In 1998, Secretary Glickman released a USDA report that backed up the Clinton Administration's belief in a strong investment in agricultural research. The report – “U.S. Agricultural Growth and Productivity: An Economywide Perspective” – found that from World War II through the 1990s, public investment in agricultural research was responsible for three quarters of all growth in U.S. farm productivity. The report also found that consumers got a big return on their investment, as well, in the form of lower food costs. The Clinton Administration understood that agricultural research was a major driver of farm productivity and profitability. It also recognized that investments in agricultural research were a good part of the reason that U.S. consumers spend less of their dollar on food than any other country in the world. For this reason, USDA invested in a wide range of research aimed at improving the long-term economic prospects and opportunities for farmers and ranchers in the United States. Here are a few of the major efforts that this support helped finance:

- **Methyl Bromide Alternatives.** Methyl bromide had been a tremendously valuable chemical for American agriculture. Yet scientists discovered that methyl bromide contributes to the depletion of the earth's ozone layer, thus causing potentially significant environmental consequences worldwide. The U.S. is scheduled to ban methyl bromide in 2005 in accordance with an international treaty. As a result, the development of alternatives to methyl bromide became a major priority at USDA. USDA scientists worked to develop and test new fumigants and/or strategies to reduce methyl bromide use, and to develop technology and equipment to reduce methyl bromide emissions into the atmosphere. USDA also worked to develop acceptable alternatives to methyl bromide for post-harvest quality maintenance of fresh fruits and vegetables.

- **Alternative Crops to Enhance Small Farm Profitability.** Three USDA laboratories dealt specifically with research to support small farms. Many other laboratories had relevant programs. For example, research findings and technology transfer activities by USDA's Small Fruit Station at Poplarville, Mississippi, were instrumental in the growth of the blueberry industry of the Gulf Coast region. This industry increased from about 500 acres in 1980 to more than 10,000 acres in 1998. New early-ripening blueberry cultivars developed by scientists at USDA's Agricultural Research Service (ARS) allow Southern growers to economically produce fruit that fits a market window that does not compete with the blueberry growers to the North. USDA also had major programs directed toward small farms at the Dale Bumpers Small Farm Research Center in Booneville, Arkansas, and at the Appalachian Soil and Water Conservation Laboratory in Beaver, West Virginia. New economically efficient and sustainable forage and livestock production systems for small family farms in hill-lands were developed at both of these facilities. In addition, both facilities conducted agro-forestry research, incorporating tree production into livestock and high-value specialty crop production. Such farming systems benefit small farmers in landscapes naturally dominated by trees. ARS scientists from six research units in Georgia established the Small Farm Survival Project for the Southern Coastal Plain. They developed a whole-farm approach that provided small farmers with choices to aid their survival.
- **Technology Transfer.** Many small businesses have built new industries based on ARS research and products. One of the most commercially successful inventions was Super Slurper. Bandz, Inc., of Smelterville, Idaho, built an entire market based on the ARS-patented cornstarch absorbent that can hold 2,000 times its weight in water. Another example was a start-up company, located in Research Triangle Park, North Carolina, which made its mark on the egg industry thanks to an ARS-patented method to immunize poultry by injecting vaccines directly into the fertile egg. In 2000, more than 85 percent of North American broilers were immunized by this process and the technology was rapidly spreading to Europe and Asia.
- **Bioenergy.** ARS continues to conduct research on lowering the cost of producing ethanol from biomass. Between 1995 and 2000, USDA's Office of Energy Policy and New Uses conducted many research studies on biomass supply and bio-energy topics, including two studies indicating a positive net energy balance for corn ethanol. In addition, USDA and the Department of Energy jointly published two studies indicating strongly lower life cycle costs for bio-diesel and corn ethanol than for their fossil fuel alternatives. USDA reported U.S. biomass resource availability of 188 million tons per year. Finally, USDA estimated the effects of minimum average renewable fuel standards for gasoline and ethanol on corn prices (an average annual increase of 15 cents per bushel from 2000 to 2010) and farm income (up an average of \$1.2 billion per year over the same period).

- **Rice Genome Project.** ARS scientists at multiple locations contributed to rice genome-mapping efforts. The Clinton Administration recognized the commercial and world food implications of mapping and sequencing the rice genome. ARS research focused on genetic improvement with a large biotechnology effort. ARS pioneered efforts on nutritional genomics in which rice will be a major focus. Genes and markers for important nutritional and end-use quality traits were being identified. Additionally, ARS scientists identified new sources of disease resistance for rice, particularly for leaf blast and sheaf blight. ARS research also made major contributions to maintaining and improving end-use quality of rice grain. ARS was an essential part of the ongoing Federal-State-industry partnership that has resulted in the release of nearly 30 improved rice varieties.

While agricultural research rarely grabs the spotlight to the extent of human health research, its implications for people around the world can be equally as profound. As Secretary Glickman stood at President Clinton's side at the White House for the signing of the 1998 agricultural research bill, he summed it up well: "cutting-edge research is critical to U.S. agriculture's success," Glickman said. "And, as we've become a more urban society, agricultural research is a good part of the reason that we are able to produce affordable and safe food for ourselves and the world."

The Census of Agriculture Moves to USDA

The transfer of the Census of Agriculture from the Department of Commerce to USDA in 1997 was an historic event that made Government work better by finally consolidating, within one Federal agency, the agricultural statistics program for the United States. For more than 150 years, the Nation's farmers and ranchers were asked to report to two separate Government agencies, and both agencies were responsible for issuing reports about U.S. agriculture to the public.

Every five years, the Census of Agriculture provides the most comprehensive information about America's agriculture. One of the greatest benefits of the census is demographic data. This is one area, in particular, where USDA leadership brought much-needed improvement. In 1997, the census showed a 14 percent increase in the number of female farm operators, and a slight rise in minority operations. This was due to USDA's efforts to do a more thorough job of counting minority- and women-owned farms and ranches through cooperative work with minority organizations, and through a pre-census survey to uncover operations that were not on the census mailing list. The 1997 census also marked the first attempt to count individual American Indian farm operations on reservations. (In the past, reservations were counted as one farm.) USDA achieved a higher response rate (nearly 2 percent) and released the final results 10 months earlier than the previous census—offering a more complete picture of the true nature and diversity of U.S. agriculture at the turn of a new century.

Conclusion

From dramatically expanding the opportunities of U.S. farmers and ranchers around the world to fighting hard to build a sturdy farm safety net for the future, the Clinton Administration helped take the U.S. farm economy to new heights in its early years. It also, when world conditions darkened, made the critical difference for many farmers to ensure their survival. While effectively administering many emergency programs, the Administration also worked to build long-term economic security for U.S. agriculture—security that was built more around 21st century market opportunities, than around big Government bailouts. It also recognized the inextricable ties between U.S. farm policy, rural development programs, conservation programs and a strong agricultural research agenda.

As the failure of key aspects of the 1996 Farm Bill became more and more apparent, backing up President Clinton's concerns about the adequacy of the safety net, few policy debates in Washington more clearly delineated the philosophical differences between the two major political parties in this country. President Clinton and his Administration stood with family farmers and ranchers, with extending U.S. farm policy to embrace the wide diversity of American agriculture, with maintaining and modernizing the Nation's historic commitment to stand by the men and women who produce its food when hard times hit. In many ways the Administration advanced this vital compact. In other instances, deep divisions between the two parties stood in the path of real progress. Under President Clinton's leadership, much was done to ensure a decent standard of living for the men and women who feed this Nation and much of the world.

2. Building a Geography of Hope

Protecting Resources Across Public, Private Lands

USDA's conservation and forestry achievements during the Clinton-Gore Administration's eight years in office have been substantial—from the landmark effort in 1996 to begin channeling billions of dollars in resources to farmers and other private landowners to support their efforts to protect the Nation's air, water, wildlife to taking bold steps to better protect the long-term health of the Nation's forests and America's last pristine acres of untouched wilderness.

By pioneering efforts to improve the scientific basis for natural resource policies, by promoting new concepts of land stewardship and the use of ecosystem management strategies, and by emphasizing the connections between a region's health and the health of its watersheds—from their headwaters to the ocean's edge—the Clinton Administration laid the groundwork for a future in which our Nation reaps the benefits of both economic and environmental wealth – a future in which a strong American economy and a healthy environment advance hand in hand.

President Clinton and Vice President Gore understood that USDA was uniquely positioned to carry out this vision across America's patchwork of public and private lands. The USDA Forest Service manages 192 million acres of public land and, through its State and private forestry programs, affects the stewardship of other public and private forests. USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service, through the technical and financial assistance it provides, affects the long-term health of millions of acres of private lands—and all the life these lands support with their contribution to abundant food, clean air and water, and abundant wildlife. Using these agencies, and developing new tools to help them carry out the challenge of a strong, sustainable future, President Clinton and Vice President Gore left as one of their most significant legacies not just a strong U.S. economy, but a healthier American landscape.

This chapter is divided into two sections: Section 1 describes the legacy of the Administration in the Nation's forests, and Section 2 describes the legacy of President Clinton and Vice President Gore across America's agricultural and other private lands. Both are substantial accomplishments in their own right. But both are connected at their core to one over-arching goal: to leave to future generations productive farmland, healthy air and water, and abundant wildlife. This is the Clinton-Gore environmental legacy. It represents a powerful rebuttal to all who would believe that economic and environmental interests are destined to conflict. From a quiet, pristine forest to strong, sustainable agriculture, this Clinton-Gore legacy proves otherwise. It's gift to future generations? A geography of hope.

Section 1. Bridging the Agriculture-Environment Divide

An Historic Investment in Conservation

"My earliest lessons about the environment were about the prevention of soil erosion on our family farm. What I learned then I believe now: we should not have an either-or, us-versus-them mentality when it comes to agriculture and the environment. We need both. And we need sustainable natural resource policies, incentive-based conservation efforts, and cutting-edge research to make sustainability a real possibility on the farm."

Vice President Al Gore
To the Third Annual Farm Journal Conference
December 1, 1998

"All our human progress has its natural limits: there is only so much land we can farm on, and without proper stewardship, there is only so much farming that land can take ... Plenty has been said about the schism between agriculture and the environment. But we accomplish very little for either by locking horns over conservation. It is time to set aside past differences and work together toward a policy of natural balance: one where we meet the needs of our people today without sacrificing those of future generations."

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman
To the National Association of Agricultural Journalists
April 22, 1996

In the wake of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (the 1996 Act), most of American agriculture was aflutter about the changing direction of U.S. farm policy. With its generous Government farm payments on top of a record strong farm economy, the new policy was enjoying quite a honeymoon in farm country. So when Secretary Glickman stood before an annual gathering of agricultural journalists on April 22, 1996—Earth Day—he raised more than a few eyebrows when he largely eschewed the topic of the moment. Instead, Secretary Glickman made an argument that was to many at the time unthinkable. The true history made in 1996 was not the shifts in traditional U.S. farm programs, he argued. The change that would matter most to future generations, Glickman said, was the fact that the 1996 Act was at its heart a conservation bill of epic proportions.

Secretary Glickman's remarks that day did not make headlines, but the efforts behind them did make history. During the 1996 Farm Bill debate, the Clinton Administration held firm in its demand for a raft of new and newly overhauled conservation programs. Its goal: to bring conservation policy and farm policy together—to cross the historic divide between agriculture and the environment by channeling billions of dollars into voluntary, incentive-based programs to support farmer, ranchers and other private land owners in their efforts to protect America's farmland, ensure clean air and water and nurture wildlife habitat.

With roots in rural America, President Clinton and Vice President Gore both knew that farmers were the original conservationists. They understood that no one takes the health of the land more seriously than those who pull their living from it. As a result, they believed that the true nature of the historic division between agriculture and the environment was not one of priorities, but one of resources. In short, they believed that if Government conservation programs offered a helping hand, rather than a slap on the hand, that they could make sustainable agriculture a mainstay on U.S. farms and ranches and make a lasting contribution to the health of the Nation's natural wealth.

The 1996 "Conservation Bill"

A 1994 Gallup poll surveyed America's attitudes toward conserving natural resources. Not surprisingly it revealed a strong public mandate for stepped-up conservation efforts. In fact, more than half of all Americans wanted to see more of their tax dollars going to these efforts. The survey also revealed that most Americans understood that farmers and ranchers had perhaps the most important role in taking care of the environment.

From the earliest days of the Clinton Administration, it was clear that there would be a major initiative to put the Federal Government's—and by extension the American people's—"money where its mouth is." In 1994 and 1995, USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service held 351 public forums across the country, discussing with some 18,000 people how best to go about enhancing the Nation's conservation efforts. Overwhelmingly, the agency heard back from stakeholders that farmers and landowners wanted to do right by the land. What they needed to do so were voluntary, incentive-driven programs, not more regulatory efforts.

It was against this backdrop of renewed and rededicated commitment to natural resources conservation that the Clinton Administration made its move in 1996 to establish one of the most important environmental legacies of the Clinton-Gore Administration.

An Emphasis on Local Leadership

To make this vision of conservation a reality across America, the Administration settled on two key tenets: (1) the efforts should be locally led—with on-the-ground guidance in establishing priority efforts and allocating resources, and (2) all participation would be voluntary—USDA would be a true partner to farmers in conservation.

This approach reaffirmed USDA's 60-year commitment to locally led conservation as one of the most effective ways to help landowners and communities achieve their conservation goals through a voluntary approach to environmental stewardship. Those who participate in locally led conservation efforts often include people who value the land for different reasons – from hunters who want to increase wildlife populations to more traditional environmentalists, for example. As they come together to understand the land in a particular area, they often focus far more clearly on shared visions of their community. Where natural resource conditions and needs can be assessed, goals defined, opportunities and constraints identified, and responsibilities clarified,

plans of action can emerge that have a good chance to succeed because they are rooted in this shared vision.

The Centerpiece: A True Conservation Reserve Program

Thanks to the strong efforts of the Clinton Administration, the 1996 Farm Bill included a whole universe of new and newly overhauled conservation programs. Clearly, the centerpiece of the conservation aspects of the bill was a revitalized Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) that, for the first time, truly lived up to its name.

In size, the program was the largest conservation endeavor in the country—paying farmers to idle millions of acres of agricultural land, ostensibly to protect the land. The CRP had been created in the wake of the Dust Bowl days of the 1930s, when billions of pounds of rich U.S. soil were swept across the country and into the sea—lost forever. As the crops dried up, the ground shriveled up and U.S. agriculture went belly up, the devastation provided a somber reminder that man certainly can push the land beyond the boundaries of its natural generosity.

Unfortunately, for many years, the reality of the CRP prior to the Clinton Administration was as a primary lever by which Government kept a firm hand on agricultural supply and demand. For decades, the programs had been used as a means of manipulating the farm economy, rather than protecting the Nation's natural resources. When commodity prices were low, more land went into the CRP and supply came back down, boosting prices. When commodity prices rose, more land would be released from the reserve, and prices would come back down.

This approach defied the central, unifying premise of the 1996 Act—a greater market orientation for U.S. agriculture—and it robbed taxpayers of many of the benefits of what their conservation dollars should return to them in healthier air and water, and abundant fertile soil and wildlife. The Clinton Administration's strong stand in 1996 Farm Bill debate established the program as a true conservation program. From that day forward, the program would only be used to idle the most sensitive land—from fragile farm acres whose agricultural capacity was threatened to strips of land along streams that could help reduce farm runoff if planted with grass buffers. The new program paid farmers per acre to idle their land. It also helped finance the conservation practices, such as grass buffers, that would help the land return the most environmental dividends to the country.

While most acres entered into the CRP were competitively bid, giving USDA conservation staff the opportunity to select land that would give taxpayers the “biggest bang for their conservation buck,” a continuous signup program also was established that allowed landowners to automatically enroll at any time certain categories of the most environmentally sensitive land. This revitalization of the CRP is widely considered to have prevented the annual loss of 1 billion tons of America's soil to erosion.

As the farm economy worsened in the years to come (fulfilling President Clinton's prediction that the 1996 Act's popularity would be short-lived), immense pressure was put on the Administration to revert the CRP to its historic role of controlling agricultural supply and demand. While Secretary Glickman permitted some grazing on heartier acres to help ranchers stricken by drought, the Administration held firm—if Congress wanted to aid the farm economy, then they should address the Administration's demand that they stitch a real farm safety net; they should not seek to abuse a conservation program to tinker with the marketplace. There was tremendous pressure to give in. But the Administration recognized its long-term responsibility to ensure a strong, productive agriculture and a healthy environment for generations to come.

A Galaxy of New Programs

Another vital creation of the 1996 effort was the Environmental Quality Incentives Program (EQIP). This program consolidated four existing programs into one effort to provide cost-share assistance to farmers and ranchers who need help in protecting soil, water, and other vital natural resources. EQIP also was the first USDA conservation program to offer assistance to ranchers who wanted to do their part for a healthy environment. As such, the program became a major tool in the Administration's clean water efforts by giving ranchers the resources they needed to protect local waterways from agricultural runoff. With funding authorized at \$200 million annually, EQIP is the Department's largest conservation program targeted to those who want to conserve and improve land while it *remains* in agricultural production. A full 50 percent of the program's funds are dedicated to conservation efforts carried out by livestock operations.

The Farmland Protection Program also fulfilled the Administration's commitment to protecting farmland from development. In the 1990s, it was estimated that the Nation lost 50 acres of farmland to development every hour. The Farmland Protection Program was the first Federal effort to address the growing encroachment on America's agricultural land of suburbs, strip malls and other development. The program provided up to \$35 million annually to establish long-term easements—essentially a generous payment to farmers in exchange for a guarantee that their land will be used only for agricultural or conservation purposes.

The Wildlife Habitat Incentives Program also was created in 1996. This was the first USDA program devoted solely to aiding private landowners in their efforts to provide critical habitat to wildlife on their property. This voluntary program provides both technical assistance and cost-share payments to help establish and improve fish and wildlife habitat. The program provided more than \$50 million to landowners during the Clinton-Gore years, growing to encompass 86,000 agreements to create habitat on 1.3 million acres of private land. Approximately 15 percent of the agreements benefit threatened and endangered species. In order to reach as many critical acres as possible for this vital purpose, the program is not limited to agricultural producers. Instead, it is available to a wider range of landowners than other Department conservation programs.

Other initiatives also were introduced: the National Natural Resources Conservation Foundation was established as a nonprofit corporation to fund research, education, and demonstration

projects related to conservation; membership in USDA State committees that provide guidance on technical standards for Department conservation programs also was broadened to include agricultural producers and others knowledgeable about conservation.

The Administration also dramatically expanded the Nation's Wetlands Reserve Program, which offers landowners financial resources and technical help in protecting, restoring, and enhancing wetlands on their property. Under the Clinton-Gore Administration, the program grew from a small pilot effort with only 50,000 acres enrolled to a nationwide program protecting nearly 1 million acres of wetlands. While the original pilot effort was a half-hearted "walk-away" process where drainage ditches were simply filled in and left alone, the current program supports extensive wetland restoration to enhance the quality of these vital habitats. The Administration also broadened the definition of wetlands to include not only cropland and pastureland, but also rangeland, native pastureland, other land used to support livestock production, and tree farms, making more sensitive acres eligible for assistance. Under the program, landowners have the choice of either permanent or 30-year easements, or restoration-only cost-share agreements.

While the CRP helped reduce soil erosion, protect air and water quality, and nurture wildlife habitat across public lands, the Administration also wanted the ability to enhance the program in order to develop a concerted effort to address some of the Nation's most significant environmental challenges. From this desire came the Conservation Reserve Enhancement Program (CREP). The CREP boosts the financial incentives of the regular program, providing even stronger encouragement for landowners to participate in locally led conservation efforts in priority areas with significant clean water and other challenges where farmers' conservation efforts could have a major impact.

One notable CREP effort involved farmers in upstate New York working together to reduce farm runoff that threatened the downstream drinking water supply of millions of residents in New York City. Thanks to these efforts, the city was able to avoid the necessity of purchasing a \$60-million water filtration plant. Another CREP effort brought together the States of Maryland, Virginia, Delaware, and Pennsylvania in an effort to restore the health of the Chesapeake Bay and its connected waterways. As a result of these efforts, nearly 60 percent of the bay's shoreline is now buffered, reducing runoff and improving water quality and wildlife habitat. Thirteen States enrolled in the CREP during the Clinton-Gore years, receiving strong Federal assistance for their conservation efforts.

National Conservation Buffer Initiative

The evolution of the Nation's conservation programs in 1996 paved the way for an ambitious new Clinton-Gore effort—a national conservation buffer initiative. The Clinton Administration understood that grass and other vegetative buffers, when planted along the Nation's waterways, could prevent as much as 80 percent of farm runoff from ever reaching the Nation's rivers and streams. To take advantage of this simple but effective approach to protect water quality, the Administration launched a massive campaign to encourage the installation of conservation buffers across the country to transform the health of America's waterways. The campaign

involved nearly 100 partners, including State conservation agencies, conservation districts, agribusiness, and agricultural and environmental organizations. By 2000, landowners had installed nearly 1 million miles of conservation buffers, thanks in no small part to USDA technical assistance, cost-share programs, and other conservation programs that were reinvigorated by the Clinton Administration.

For example, buffers installed along Mill Creek, in Pennsylvania, are good for the local trout population, but they also improve the health and water quality of the Chesapeake Bay, since Mill Creek flows to the Susquehanna River which connects to the bay.

Carbon Sequestration

The Clinton Administration's efforts to increase enrollment of land into conservation practices, over the long term, will be a major contributor in helping reduce the threat of global warming. Vice President Gore's book *Earth In The Balance* drew attention to the role "greenhouse" gases play in global climate change and called for action on a world scale to reverse its effects.

As a natural part of the Earth's atmosphere, greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, trap heat in the same way that glass does in a greenhouse. Without them, the Earth would be too cold for agriculture and for human life. Unfortunately, these gases are increasing in the atmosphere due to the burning of fossil fuels and other human activities, such as manufacturing chemicals, raising cattle, and clearing land. The accumulation of these gases in the atmosphere is likely to cause changes in temperature, rain, snowfall, and other aspects of the climate. In 1995, a group of 2,000 of the world's leading scientists concluded that "the balance of evidence suggests a discernible human influence on global climate." Computer models indicate that future warming will be faster and greater in the decades to come.

USDA soil scientists have been global leaders in understanding the role of soils in taking carbon out of the atmosphere and sequestering it in the soil. Agriculture produces substantial amounts of two greenhouse gases, methane and nitrous oxide, and minor amounts of carbon dioxide. Many conservation practices can produce a variety of benefits to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases.

Clean Water Action Plan

While proud of the progress of the Clean Water Act in the 1970s, President Clinton and Vice President Gore understood that it was time in the 1990s to build on this landmark environmental legislation with new efforts to address new challenges. As a result, it created The Clean Water Action Plan. Announced by President Clinton and Vice President Gore on February 19, 1998, the plan worked to protect and restore the health of the Nation's waterways by providing States, communities, farmers, and landowners with the tools and resources they need to achieve their clean water goals. The plan emphasized collaborative strategies built around watersheds and the local communities they sustain. USDA's role in this effort was prominent because farmers and ranchers control so much of the Nation's private lands and can have a major impact on water quality. Sound environmental practices on the farm were pivotal to the success of this endeavor.

As a part of his Clean Water Action Plan, President Clinton proposed funding levels that would ensure that every farmer and rancher had access to the financial and technical help they needed to do their part for clean water. President Clinton's USDA also placed a strong emphasis on cutting-edge research that could make it easier for farmers to produce the Nation's food in an environmentally sensitive manner. One especially significant breakthrough involved scientists at USDA's Agricultural Research Service who discovered a new corn variety that protects water quality and farm income. As Secretary Glickman colorfully described the advance in Maryland in 1998, "when this corn is fed to chickens and pigs, about 50 percent less phosphorous comes out the other end." For farmers, the benefit of this new corn was more than simply environmental. Since the phosphorous in this corn is readily absorbed by animals, it reduces the need for costly dietary supplements—helping farmers do their part for clean water and benefit financially for their effort, as well.

Specific components of USDA's leadership in the President's Clean Water Action Plan include:

Animal Feeding Operations

Animal feeding operations figured prominently in the President's Clean Water Action Plan. As agriculture continued its determined trend toward fewer and larger operations, economies of scale led to great concentration in the livestock sector, as well. As a result, today there are fewer livestock farms, but these operations include massive numbers of animals. In 1988, hog farms with more than 50,000 heads made up about 7 percent of the market. A decade later, large hog farms took up 35 percent of the market and oftentimes produces as much waste as an entire city. Further complicating the matter was the concentration of these large farms in regions of the country where local environmental regulations were most lenient. As the Administration prepared to enact strong national standards to protect nearby waterways, it made an equally strong commitment—through its raft of conservation programs—to give producers the resources they needed to run more environmentally responsible operations.

Minimizing threats to water quality and public health caused by animal feeding operations, while ensuring the long-term sustainability of livestock production, was a major priority for the Clinton Administration. In partnership with the Environmental Protection Agency and various stakeholders, USDA developed a Unified National Strategy for Animal Feeding Operations that included a national expectation that all animal feeding operations would put in place comprehensive nutrient management plans by the year 2008. These plans address manure handling and storage, application of manure to the land, record keeping, feed management, land management, and other strategies. While the focus of this strategy is voluntary and will affect 95 percent of the Nation's 450,000 animal feeding operations, it also will contain proposals to improve existing regulations in order to more adequately protect the Nation's waterways.

Stream Corridor Restoration

With more than 3.5 million miles of rivers and streams, communities across the Nation are becoming more aware of the need to address clean water issues. Stream corridors are complex ecosystems that provide a variety of benefits, from removing harmful materials from water to

providing habitat for plants and animals. As part of the President's Clean Water Action Plan, USDA helped develop "Stream Corridor Restoration: Principles, Processes, and Practices," a guide that pools the expertise and resources of 15 Federal agencies with clean water responsibilities. This resource provides a solid foundation for local communities to restore streams in their own backyard.

Unified Watershed Assessments

In partnership with the Environmental Protection Agency, President Clinton's USDA worked closely with State and local entities to help them assess the health of their watersheds and identify those in need of attention. The Administration also made a particular effort to reach out to Tribal authorities to include Tribal lands in this critical effort, as well. The critical watersheds identified in turn received priority for funding under the Clean Water Action Plan, realizing a central tenet of the plan's strategy—targeting resources to the most critical efforts.

Conservation Beyond the Farm

In addition to the Urban Resources Partnership, described in the forestry portion of this chapter, Secretary Glickman also promoted urban gardening and backyard conservation initiatives to enhance urban and suburban America's understanding that everyone has a role to play in helping protect the environment and nurture the Nation's natural resources. Through USDA's backyard conservation campaign, the Department worked to educate homeowners about ways they can promote a healthy environment at home—from planting native grasses, to reducing their use of chemicals and pesticides, to installing bird baths and other habitat-friendly environs.

Expanding conservation assistance to landowners in urban and suburban settings offers a tremendous return on investment to the Nation's environment. Educating people about their actions, from washing the car with the right type of soap to applying fertilizer responsibly, can make a huge difference in reversing the dangerous trend of nonpoint source pollution. Educating city planners about how to build a more "green" city, from more tree plantings to strategies to reduce storm water runoff also are critical to improved air and water quality.

National Conservation Summit to Focus on Private Land

One of the major challenges of the 21st Century will be to help farmers, ranchers, and forestland owners conserve and protect our Nation's valuable private land. The loss of prime agricultural land to development, the health of our watersheds, and the future of private forestlands are some of the critical issues facing the Nation. Seventy percent of the land in the United States is private land, and what happens to that land is crucial to our Nation's economic and environmental well being. To meet this challenge, Secretary Glickman held a day-long National Summit on Private Land Conservation on December 7, 1999, at the Iowa State University Memorial Union in Ames, Iowa, to take a new look at conservation and forestry issues facing the Nation's private lands and to help spur a public-private dialogue to identify the key conservation issues we face in the new millennium and to begin the search for solutions to these challenges.

The summit activities included a panel of elected officials, conservation leaders, and others who identified the critical conservation issues on private land, as well as individuals representing a cross-section of interests, including private foundations, major corporations, and agricultural and environmental groups addressing potential solutions to the critical conservation issues.

In recent years, USDA has expanded its conservation efforts beyond curbing soil erosion to include farmland protection, improving water quality, restoring wetlands, protecting soil productivity, enhancing fish and wildlife habitat, and promoting conservation in the nation's cities and communities.

Promoting Sustainable Development³

Without a doubt, the Clinton Administration's historic commitment to sustainable agriculture was central to a larger goal—promoting sustainable development and a sustainable future—for Americans and people around the world. In 1992, the United States joined more than 100 nations for an Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. There, the United States signed a number of sweeping international agreements to promote more sustainable development in the 21st century. To follow through on these commitments, President Clinton established the President's Council on Sustainable Development. This 25-member Council included representatives from Government, business and industry, environmental and other groups. USDA Deputy Secretary Rominger was an active leader on the Council, serving as cochair of the Council's Task Force on Sustainable Agriculture.

One key change Rominger helped bring about was the creation of a USDA Director of Sustainable Development in 1995. With this move, the Department became the first Federal agency to create a position with a sole responsibility for promoting the principles of sustainable development in all aspects of USDA's work. Rather than creating a new Government bureaucracy, this USDA strategy focused on coordination among all Department agencies to see the principles of sustainability reflected throughout the Department. One example of a tangible outcome was the Sustainable Agriculture Learning Initiative, which helped promote understanding of sustainable agriculture practices among both farm lenders and producers. This effort took aim at what many consider the biggest barrier to the adoption of new, more environmentally friendly agricultural practices—the frequent lack of availability of adequate credit and crop insurance for farmers who adopt “nontraditional” farming practices that promote environmental stewardship.

Conclusion

By entering into a historic new partnership with farmers, ranchers, and other landowners across the country, the Clinton Administration laid the groundwork for improved quality of life, environmental health and livability in the Nation's 21st century communities. From the mountain

³For a detailed discussion of this effort, please see the paper in the appendix to this chapter entitled "Promoting Sustainable Development," that was prepared by USDA's Director of Sustainable Development during the Clinton-Gore years, Adela Backiel.

tops to the cities, this Administration took tremendous strides in protecting America's resources and improving the way Government works to encourage conservation and environmental health—by promoting a partnership approach that delivered billions of dollars in resources to help farmers, ranchers, and other private landowners to perform the stewardship tasks asked of them. With these strong investments, the Nation made clear that clean water and air, abundant wildlife habitat and productive soil are "commodities" every bit as critical as corn, wheat, and cattle. As a result, the Clinton Administration helped close the gap between the interests of a strong, competitive U.S. agriculture and a healthy, sustainable environment, instilling in Government programs the country's belief that a strong Nation needs and deserves both.

Section 2. A Nation Reclaims Its Forests

Valuing Environmental Protection

"As a boy, I learned by walking the Ozark and Quachita National Forests of my home State that national forests are more than a source of timber, they are places of renewal of the human spirit and our natural environment Even as we strengthen protections, the majority of our forests will continue to be responsibly managed for sustainable timber production and other activities. We are, once again, determined to prove that environmental protection and economic growth can, and must, go hand in hand."

President Clinton
Speaking in the George Washington National Forest
October 13, 1999

"This Administration understands that we are reaching a point in the growth of our Nation where we are pressing up against our final ecological frontiers. As we do, I think most Americans are coming to a shared realization that we need to protect our remaining open spaces because they are a treasure unique in the world. In short, we are concluding that some frontiers are not meant to be conquered."

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman
Announcing an Interim Ban on New Forest Road
Construction
February 11, 1999

During the Clinton years, no story is quite as compelling as that of the efforts that were undertaken to return the U.S. Forest Service to its conservation roots. Upon entering office in 1993, the Clinton Administration faced a difficult challenge. Timber harvests from Federal forests had risen sharply during the preceding Reagan and Bush administrations, and conflicts between timber production and water quality, fish and wildlife habitat, recreation use, and other noncommodity values of the forests had grown. It was in this environment that a systematic

effort was made to refocus the agency on its land stewardship role, to fundamentally change its management focus from the production of commodities to the restoration and maintenance of forests for a broader array of multiple uses.

The challenge was substantial. There is no question that reforming the Forest Service came at a very high cost personally and professionally to many of the dedicated people involved. In Washington DC, real change rarely comes easy, especially where Western public land issues and agencies are involved. The agency's culture and recent history also acted as strong impediments to efforts to reform its management and focus. However, President Clinton's USDA did succeed in achieving this fundamental shift in the agency, brought about by changes in leadership, philosophy, legislation and regulations, programs and policies, all geared toward the protection of unique natural resources, the restoration of damaged landscapes, greater public involvement in management and decisionmaking, and the stewardship of watersheds and natural resources.

The Early Years: Taking the Reins

Since the 1970s, the management of Federal forests in the Pacific Northwest was controversial. During the Reagan-Bush years, the decades of heavy logging in the Pacific Northwest started taking its toll on the old growth environment and people blamed the Forest Service. By 1990, environmental groups had won in court claims regarding the Forest Service's protection of sensitive old growth wildlife, such as the northern spotted owl in its design and sale of timber. The courts ordered the forests shut down to timber harvesting in three separate injunctions until the Forest Service met its legal requirements. By 1992, there were more than a dozen lawsuits and three court injunctions involving the northern spotted owl, the marbled murrelet, and timber harvest in old-growth forest. As a result, the forests were essentially in court receivership.

The reaction by the Bush administration was to call on Congress to change the environmental laws to allow the Forest Service to continue harvesting 12 billion board feet a year. By 1992, the Pacific Northwest, after 2 years of litigation and injunction, was ready for leadership and resolution of the gridlock that had taken hold in the region. In walked Governor Clinton. As a candidate for the presidency, he announced his intentions, if elected, to bring the parties together and work out a solution that balanced economic and environmental interests for the long run. President Clinton kept his promise by convening a forest conference in Portland, Oregon. Afterwards, the President directed his cabinet to craft, within 60 days, a long-term policy for the management of more than 24 million acres of public land administered by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management.

To get the job done, the President relied on a few people, including Jim Lyons—soon to be USDA's Assistant Secretary for Natural Resources and Environment. Lyons came from Capitol Hill, where he had worked on environmental and forestry issues for the House Agriculture Committee. Another person whom the President trusted was Katie McGinty, a former aide to Vice President Gore when he was a Senator. Katie was quickly nominated to be the White House's Chair of the Council on Environmental Quality. The other prominent participant was

Tom Tuchmann, who worked on the Senate Agriculture Committee. Tuchmann later moved to Portland to oversee the plan.

In directing his fledgling administration to prepare this plan, President Clinton outlined five principles: (1) adhering to the Nation's environmental laws, (2) protecting and enhancing the environment using sound science, (3) providing a sustainable timber economy, (4) supporting people and communities in economic transition, and (5) ensuring that Federal agencies work together.

A team was assembled, under the leadership of Jack Ward Thomas, then a senior researcher in the Forest Service, to take on this herculean task. Under Thomas's leadership, with remarkable speed and dedication, a team of scientists constructed a strategy which ultimately satisfied the Ninth Circuit Court and created the framework for future strategies across the Western United States. A new way of doing business had been invented, and the concept of ecosystem management was firmly established in policy and law, as the model for managing forested ecosystems.

Leadership Changes

After years of controversy surrounding national forest management, the Forest Service was demoralized due to the deep public suspicion of agency motives. The Clinton Administration wanted new leadership to take the agency back to its conservation roots. Under Secretary Jim Lyons convinced Jack Ward Thomas, who had been a Forest Service wildlife researcher for his entire career, to lead the agency. Thomas' contributions to the President's Northwest Forest Plan, made him a logical choice.

But efforts to make Thomas chief were stymied by traditional agency forces that resisted his promotion. Being thwarted by personnel policies and politics, Lyons went to the White House to secure their support for conversion of the Chief's position to a political appointment, in order to allow Thomas to become chief. The effort was successful, and the move was extraordinarily controversial within the Forest Service. The thinking of some in the agency was that as long as they produced enough board feet of timber for the mills, no one would bother them. But the Forest Service was in for a change.

Chief Thomas moved quickly to implement an ecosystem-based approach to managing all national forests. Unfortunately, Thomas' efforts were severely undermined by those within the agency who were loyal to the old system of managing by forest rather than by ecosystem. Each forest supervisor wanted to act independently. Most fought the idea of basing management choices on a broad set of standards that were based on protecting ecosystems, a concept supported by the science community. Each wanted his or her own "fiefdom" to rule. To communicate this message, more than 50 supervisors signed a letter opposing Thomas' appointment. Instead of replacing these agency leaders, Thomas attempted to work with them. Nevertheless, his efforts were continually thwarted. As tensions grew between the agency opponents of change and Administration proponents, Thomas elected to step down.

In the 1995 salvage rider debate, the Forest Service responded effectively to an agenda set by Congress. But the debate showed that the agency needed to set its own agenda for natural resource conservation. In 1997, Secretary Glickman called on Mike Dombeck, then-Acting Director of the Bureau of Land Management, to serve as Forest Service Chief. Dombeck created a long-term vision for improving the health of the land through a natural resource agenda focusing on healthy watersheds; sustainable forest ecosystems; dispersed recreation opportunities for all Americans; and a sound system of forest roads, including special protections for roadless areas. By carrying through with these promises, Dombeck helped restore confidence in the Forest Service as a conservation leader.

The Natural Resource Agenda

Not long after his appointment, Chief Dombeck received a letter from Republican leaders in Congress threatening to fund the Forest Service at a diminished, "custodial" level because the agency was allegedly not producing commodities commensurate with its level of funding at the time. In short, it wasn't cutting enough trees. The letter reflected widespread concern in Congress, the public, and even the agency itself that the Forest Service had lost sight of its mission.

During a hearing held by the House Agriculture Committee over the future of the Forest Service, Secretary Dan Glickman told the Committee that the agency had been diverted by previous administrations to focusing on harvesting timber as its primary purpose. After all of the resulting legal and public relations catastrophes, the Forest Service and its mission were adrift. President Clinton's new Chief vowed a change. Dombeck said, "We have two very basic choices, we can sit back on our heels and react to the newest litigation, the latest court order, or the most recent legislative proposal that would ensure that we continue to be buffeted by social, political, and budgetary changes. Or we can lead by example. We can lead by using the best available scientific information based on principles of ecosystem management...to advance a new agenda – an agenda with a most basic and essential focus—caring for the land and serving people."

Formulated in 1997 by Chief Dombeck and Jim Lyons, with major input from Brooks Preston, special assistant to Lyons; Anne Keys, special assistant to Secretary Glickman; Chris Wood, special assistant to Chief Dombeck; and the Council on Environmental Quality, the Forest Service's Natural Resource Agenda was born. The agenda included four focal areas. Each was chosen as a basis for consensus among the contending parties. Each also reflected the Clinton-Gore vision of a broader valuation of the Nation's forests that extended far beyond the dollar value of their board feet of timber:

- **Watershed Health:** The National Forest System was founded in part "for the purpose of securing favorable conditions of water flows."⁴ By 2000, watersheds in the national forests supplied about 60 million Americans with their drinking water. Moreover, Forest

⁴Organic Act of 1987.

Service research had shown that healthy watersheds were the foundation for sustainable forest and grassland ecosystems.

- **Sustainability:** The Administration considered managing natural resources for the long run as key to conserving the health of the land.
- **Recreation:** Long before the 1990s, recreation had become the dominant use of the national forests, vastly eclipsing timber harvests and mining. Furnishing all Americans with a variety of recreation opportunities while protecting the wildland values that support a bustling tourism trade was a key priority of the Clinton administration.
- **Forest Roads Repair:** Sustainable forest management and recreation both depended on a sound system of forest roads. But the forest road system was in growing disrepair, vastly underfunded for proper maintenance. As a result, the Clinton Administration pursued sound roads management, which included protections for remaining roadless areas.

The Natural Resource Agenda became the basis for a series of Forest Service initiatives, some involving partnerships across ownership boundaries, others entailing the most extensive public consultations in Forest Service history. Initiatives included large-scale watershed restoration projects and new rules for roads management and roadless area conservation.

By 2000, there were signs of growing public confidence in the agency. Favorable reports again outweighed negative stories in the media. Contentious debates had all but ceased in Congress over levels of timber harvest and appropriations for forest roads. In 2000, in a striking vote of confidence, Congress raised the Forest Service's annual budget from \$2.9 billion to \$4.4 billion, a 47-percent increase and the largest in agency history. Thanks in good measure to the Natural Resource Agenda, the Forest Service was back in control of its own destiny.

Ecosystem Management: A More Holistic Approach to Forestry

In drafting the Northwest Forest Plan, the Administration created the prototype of a region-wide management plan that came to be known as ecosystem management. Ecosystem management acknowledges that forests are complex networks of biological systems and that people and water are integral parts of those systems. The Plan was the first-ever attempt to apply the concept on a region-wide basis. In releasing the Plan from litigation in 1994, Judge William Dwyer acknowledged the wisdom of this approach in his decision, which read, "Given the current condition of the forests, there is no way the agencies could comply with the environmental laws without planning on an ecosystem basis."

Using cutting-edge science and strong interagency cooperation, the Plan brought balanced, long-term management to public forests in western Washington, western Oregon, and northern California. The Plan protected old-growth trees across the region. The strategy included environmental protection and restoration activities, as well as commercial timber harvest. Ongoing monitoring helped determine the plan's effectiveness in promoting habitat for northern spotted owls and marbled murrelets, protecting and restoring watersheds, and promoting a sustainable level of goods and services from Federal forests.

The Northwest Forest Plan, signed in 1994, ended the litigation that had gripped the region for nearly four years. The Plan represented the first time that all the Federal agencies with a stake in these issues developed a common management approach for an entire ecological region.

Another critical component of the plan was its economic transition assistance to help timber-dependent communities diversify into other commercial activities. More than \$1.2 billion was invested to help Pacific Northwest communities become less dependent on Federal timber sales.

Protecting the Interior Columbia Basin

After completing the Northwest Forest Plan, the Clinton Administration focused on Federal lands in the eastern portion of the Pacific Northwest. In July 1993, President Clinton directed the Forest Service to "develop a scientifically sound and ecosystem-based strategy for management of eastside forests." In response, the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management initiated the Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project. Other major partners included the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, National Marine Fisheries Service, and Environmental Protection Agency. The Project provided a long-term strategy for managing public lands on a landscape level, addressing forest and grassland health, fish and wildlife habitat, and regional social and economic issues. The management strategy will apply to 64 million acres of Federal lands in eastern Oregon and Washington, Idaho, and western Montana.

The final strategy promotes the restoration and protection of Federal lands in the Interior Columbia River Basin. The strategy will involve activities such as reintroducing fire to the ecosystem, reducing the spread of noxious weeds, restoring and eliminating roads, and thinning unhealthy and diseased forests. The strategy will also protect environmentally sensitive areas such as old forests, streams, and watersheds to improve the health of these public lands, protect fish and wildlife habitat, and provide the public with a sustainable level of goods and services.

The project marked the first comprehensive, landscape-level scientific assessment of its size in the United States. It was the first major Federal resource management planning process to include, from the beginning, a multi-State coalition of counties. It prepared a sub-basin review guide to help users consistently apply the project's broad scientific findings and decisions to smaller areas. The project partners learned to collaborate at the regional level by developing management tools helpful to field personnel. In many ways, the project paved the way for similar initiatives nationwide.

Building a Healthy Future for Sierra Nevada

Soon after the Clinton Administration arrived in 1993, the Forest Service listed the California Spotted Owl as a species of concern and started to prepare a strategy to help protect it. Upon his arrival at USDA, Secretary Glickman created an advisory council to advise him on ways that the owl strategy could be enhanced. The recommendation? The owl strategy missed the forest for the trees—failing to address other species' needs, or the health of the ecosystem that supported all life in the area. Soon after, the Sierra Nevada Framework strategy for Conservation and Collaboration was created.

Even before the framework process began, the Forest Service invited the public to participate in formulating the proposal. In all, the Forest Service held over 120 public meetings and gathered comments from some 12,000 individuals. Another 38,000 signatures arrived on petitions and postcards.

The draft environmental impact statement addressed five problem areas: old forest ecosystems; aquatic, riparian, and meadow ecosystems; fire and fuels management; noxious weeds; and lower westside hardwood ecosystems. The statement also considered access and recreation opportunities, subregional differences, and socioeconomic impacts on communities.

The most difficult task was developing an effective conservation strategy for old forests and associated wildlife species while at the same time reducing risks of wildfires. Ultimately, the regional forester's decision--due in December 2000--will involve balancing risks and managing uncertainties.

Preserving the Unique Landscape of the Southwest

The Southwestern States of Arizona and New Mexico have unique cultures and ecosystems, partly due to the region's special climate. In the 1990s, Federal agencies in the region recognized the need for a more holistic--landscape-level, ecosystem-based--approach to protect this unique landscape.

In November 1997, the Secretaries of Agriculture and the Interior, together with the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Environmental Security), directed their respective land management agencies to develop an interagency strategy for conserving the values unique to the Southwest. The Southwest Strategy was designed to maintain and restore the region's cultural, economic, and environmental quality of life in a manner that was collaborative, scientifically based, legally defensible, and do-able.

A regional executive committee, with representatives from Federal agencies and the States and Tribes, was formed to implement the Southwest Strategy. The committee chartered issue-based work groups to help resolve issues of concern. For example, a priority for the Scientific Information Work Group was to list research and monitoring needs for the Southwest that were not being addressed. So far, the strategy seems to be working; however, the region may need a more comprehensive approach similar to that of strategies noted above. Litigation against the Forest Service seems to be crippling its efforts to conduct the type of work--such as monitoring, research, and restoration--needed to meet environmental laws.

Tongass Timber Mills Close

Established in 1917, the Tongass National Forest covers some 17 million acres, making it the largest unit in the National Forest System. Its borders include about 85 percent of southeastern Alaska, a region 500 miles long and 100 miles wide. After World War II, the Government vigorously promoted wood-pulping facilities in southeastern Alaska to utilize the vast wood

supply and to provide stable, year-round employment. In 1951, the Forest Service awarded a 50-year contract for some 8.5 billion board feet of Tongass timber to a company operating a pulp mill in Ketchikan, AK. In 1957, the Alaska Lumber and Pulp Company signed a similar deal for operating a pulp mill in Sitka, AK. In 1980, Congress bolstered the timber supply through the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA), directing the Secretary of Agriculture to offer 4.5 billion board feet of Tongass timber per decade.

But Alaskan pulp companies steadily lost market share in the Pacific Rim. From 1980 to 1987, the Forest Service prepared and offered an annual average of 467 million board feet of Tongass timber, whereas the volume sold and harvested averaged only 280 million board feet. The disparity precipitated the Tongass Timber Reform Act of 1990, repealing the ANILCA provision. In 1993, the Alaska Pulp Corporation permanently closed its mill in Sitka. On October 31, 2000, the Ketchikan mill followed suit, terminating its long-term contract, as well. Although the Forest Service continued to support a stable timber program, the agency could now manage the Tongass National Forest just like the rest of the National Forest System for the long-term health of the land.

By the 1990s, a new forest plan for the Tongass National Forest was long overdue. The existing plan dated from 1979 and called for an annual timber sale level of 520 million board feet to feed the two large pulp mills in Sitka and Ketchikan, AK. Moreover, it contained only minimal protections for wildlife habitat.

In 1991, scientists warned that unless the pace of logging was slowed, at least nine wildlife species, including the brown bear, the Queen Charlotte goshawk, and the Alexander Archipelago wolf, could disappear from the Tongass National Forest. The scientists recommended establishing large old-growth reserves to maintain habitat blocks for wildlife.

With the Sitka and Ketchikan mills closed, Forest Service planning in the region was no longer driven by meeting the volume requirements of long-term contracts with timber companies. In 1997, after repeated revisions to strengthen its scientific foundations, the Tongass National Forest Land and Resource Management Plan was signed. After the Forest Service made modifications, primarily to reduce the annual timber sales and to protect old growth trees, Under Secretary Lyons finalized the plan in 1999.

In the final plan, the annual allowable sale of 187 million board feet provided a sound commercial basis for Alaska's timber-dependent communities. In 42 separate wildlife areas scattered throughout the forest, the plan established timber harvest rotations of 200 years, with 234,000 acres of old growth permanently shielded from harvest. The plan ensured the long-term health of the land by protecting old growth, headwater areas, stream and beach buffers, caves and karst, and habitat for species viability.

These actions have been extremely controversial. In 1995, one of the reasons for the infamous Government shut down by Congress was a heated dispute over the Tongass Land Management

Plan. Senators Stevens and Murkowski insisted that the President enact a level of timber harvesting that the Administration believed would do catastrophic damage. This was a key reason President Clinton vetoed the bill. As noted previously, Jim Lyons suffered major attacks from the Alaska delegation. In addition, the Tongass issue almost cost Secretary Glickman his job. His confirmation was temporarily hung up because, as a congressman, Glickman had supported the Tongass Timber Reform Act as well as attempts to cancel the long-term timber contracts. Out of all of the issues, Tongass issues were the most controversial. In the end, the Administration put the Tongass on a sustainable road to recovery, but it wasn't easy.

Planning a Sustainable Future for America's Forests

In another dramatic departure from the past, the Administration unveiled new regulations that will guide management of the national forests and grasslands well into the 21st century. These regulations reflect the Clinton Administration's broader vision of all the values of the Nation's forests.

In hearings on the proposal, Dr. Art Cooper, who led a team of scientists that drafted the original regulations in 1982, endorsed the new approach. "Sustainability is not a new idea for forestry," he said. "However, in the past sustainability for forestry was almost always interpreted in terms of a sustained flow of commodities, primarily timber. The new view of sustainability ... expands the concept to include all the benefits and values of the forest, including wildlife and fish, biotic diversity, recreation, landscape protection, and aesthetics. Under the new sustainability all of these properties of the forest are of value, and it becomes essential that all continue to be available for the benefit of future generations."

The Forest Service is required by law to maintain sound regulations for national forest management planning. The existing planning rule was adopted in 1982. By the 1990s, the public was demanding more involvement in policy planning, and new ecological insights were revolutionizing natural resource management. In other words, a planning rule revision was long overdue.

For more than 10 years, the Forest Service worked on revising the rule. Secretary Glickman appointed a group of eminent specialists to evaluate the existing rule. Based on the committee's report, the Forest Service released a proposed rule in October 1999. The final rule affirmed ecological, social, and economic sustainability as the overall goal for managing the national forests. Maintaining and restoring ecological sustainability was confirmed as the highest priority. In the spirit of Gifford Pinchot, the first Forest Service Chief, the rule also facilitated greater public collaboration. "National Forests are made for and owned by the people," wrote Pinchot in the first Forest Service manual in 1907. "They should also be managed by the people." The Clinton Administration returned the Forest Service to its roots.

The final rule also placed greater emphasis on the use of science in planning. The rule emphasized monitoring of resource conditions and trends over time so management can adapt to changing conditions. It also called for the creation of scientific advisory boards to update

planners on the latest information and analyses. The rule also affirmed the Forest Service's commitment to the viability of all species.

Through its commitment to planning on an ecosystem basis, the new rule represented a fundamental change in philosophy. It broke with past bureaucratic models to help public land managers work more closely with the American people to sustain the health, biological diversity, and productivity of the Nation's lands and waters. Completion of the new rule was a major milestone for the Clinton Administration. This rule received little public attention, but it will affect national forests for decades.

Protecting America's Special Places

A More Rational Approach to Roads

The 1995 salvage rider controversy highlighted a lingering problem: the lack of special protections for roadless areas on national forest lands. Following passage of the 1964 Wilderness Act, the Forest Service began inventorying pristine forest areas for possible designation by Congress as protected wilderness. Many of these areas were protected. By 1998, remaining inventoried roadless areas covered some 58.5 million acres, or about 31 percent of the National Forest System.

Roadless areas provide values unique to a tiny and dwindling portion of our increasingly developed American landscape. They are a biological refuge for native plant and animal species and a bulwark against the spread of non-native invasive species. As a baseline for natural habitats and ecosystems, roadless areas offer rare opportunities for study, research, and education. In addition, they provide unique opportunities for dispersed recreation, clean drinking water, and large undisturbed landscapes that offer privacy and seclusion.

Congress annually debated the Forest Service's roads budget. With every year, there was a growing recognition within Congress that the agency's roadbuilding force was literally out of control. Over the last 50 years, it had allowed 386,000 miles of roads in our national forests. One could go around the world 15 or 16 times with this number of miles. Worse yet, the existing roads were in complete disrepair, causing widespread water quality, wildlife habitat, and human safety problems. Yet the Forest Service kept building into pristine areas to access virgin timber.

In early 1999, Secretary Glickman announced an 18-month temporary halt to road building into roadless areas until a roads management strategy was created. In making the announcement, Secretary Glickman explained the stakes and the Administration's viewpoint this way, "it is fairly easy to fell a 100-year-old tree or carve a road into the side of a mountain. The harder, more disciplined approach is to refrain." But in keeping with the Administration's commitment to allow greater public involvement in the management of the Nation's forests, the temporary ban was a move to "test the waters" with the public. As expected, the public overwhelmingly

wanted more long-term protection of the last pristine acres of national forest and a strategy to deal responsibly with existing roads in disrepair.

On October 13, 1999, President Clinton formally unveiled his vision for the long-term protection of America's last untouched forests while visiting Virginia's George Washington National Forest. There, he directed the Forest Service to undertake an open, public process to provide long-term protection for these special places. In making the announcement, Clinton said, "these pristine areas are some of the last wild places in America. I am firmly committed to preserving them for future generations."

Six days later, the Forest Service proposed to immediately restrict certain activities in roadless areas, such as road construction, and to develop procedures to guide roadless area management. The initial rulemaking process included 187 public meetings attended by about 16,000 people and an interactive website that scored more than 11 million hits in its first 6 months. In all, the Forest Service's plan elicited more than 517,000 responses, an unprecedented number for any Federal rulemaking.

On May 10, 2000, the Forest Service released a proposed rule, which included a prohibition on road construction and reconstruction in all roadless areas except in the Tongass National Forest, where a decision would be made by local forest officials. The proposal also required the forests' managers to analyze roadless areas for their special characteristics.

By November, the USDA Forest Service had received 1.6 million comments from Americans interested in the proposal. At that time, the Forest Service presented Secretary Glickman with a plan to protect nearly 60 million acres of roadless areas – barring most road construction in these areas, as well as prohibiting timber harvesting except for defined stewardship purposes. "As we lose more and more open space to sprawl and development, Americans increasingly turn to our national forests to experience and enjoy our shared natural landscape," Glickman said. "Preventing road building in these areas is an essential step toward preserving and protecting these wildlands for the future."

Protecting Yellowstone National Park

In 1996, with the scenic view of Lamar Valley of Yellowstone National Park as a backdrop, President Clinton presided over the signing of an historic agreement among the Forest Service, Crown Butte Mining Company, and a coalition of environmental organizations. This agreement effectively prevented any future mining outside the northeast boundary of Yellowstone National Park. This agreement also halted years of bitter opposition to the proposed gold mining project known as the New World Mine due to the potential effects on the waters, wilderness, recreation, and wildlife in the Yellowstone area.

The President took earlier action to protect Yellowstone by withdrawing, in 1995, all National Forest Lands in the area from mining operations. This withdrawal was made permanent by Congress in 1999.

The purpose of the August 1996 Agreement was to preserve and restore the area's natural resources, resolve the bitter controversy over the environmental safety of mining in the area, and protect Yellowstone. The President also wanted to ensure that the mining company and other private interests would receive fair compensation for these actions. Specifically, the United States agreed to pay the company \$65 million. In return the mining company agreed to pay \$22.5 million to correct historic mining damage to the area. The Forest Service also negotiated a conservation agreement to prevent mining on another contiguous block of highly mineralized lands that also were privately owned.

The final steps to conclude the agreements were completed in August 1998, exactly 2 years after the President's announcement. Since then the Forest Service, in cooperation with the Park Service, the Environmental Protection Agency, and the State of Montana, has led efforts to restore the area's ecosystems, clean up mines, and improve water quality, while preserving the area's rich mining history.

Protecting the "Lake in the Sky"

Lake Tahoe is one of America's most special places, a vast lake high in the Sierra Nevada mountains that is more than 1,600 feet deep and blessed with some of the clearest water on Earth. Lake Tahoe is also one of America's most beloved places. That popularity in recent decades has created special challenges to the basin's environment, including an alarming drop in the lake's legendary visibility. These environmental challenges, in turn, have significant implications for the Tahoe economy, which is forever linked to the health of the fabled "lake in the sky."

On Saturday, July 26, 1997, President Clinton and Vice President Gore traveled to Incline Village, Nevada, to host the Lake Tahoe Presidential Forum. The forum yielded many significant commitments to restore and protect the Lake Tahoe Basin for future generations. These efforts culminated in the signing of an executive order to strengthen the Federal Government's work preserving the health of the lake and its surrounding forests through a stronger partnership with the States of Nevada and California, the Washoe Tribe, the Tahoe Regional Planning Agency, and local governments.

In the wake of the summit, President Clinton asked Secretary Glickman to lead Federal efforts to synthesize those recommendations into a long-term action plan to restore and protect the Lake Tahoe Basin. Through the end of the Administration, Federal agencies committed an average of \$12 million a year to these efforts.

Together, this unique partnership took meaningful actions on a wide range of fronts, including water quality, transportation, forest management, and recreation and tourism. The people who live around Lake Tahoe have responded to these challenges with innovative solutions based on collaboration with local, State, and Federal partners. Their work provides an example for collaborative stewardship of unique natural treasures in communities across the country.

Purchase of Baca Ranch

The purchase seemed doomed to failure when Senator Domenici of New Mexico voiced concerns about the acquisition of the famous Baca Ranch in New Mexico. After a meeting in New Mexico with Senators Domenici and Bingaman, President Clinton invited the two men to join him on Air Force One for his return flight to Washington, DC. During their flight, the President and the Senators outlined a new approach for the purchase and management of the ranch. They decided that the ranch, even though in public ownership, would be managed as a “working ranch” under a Board of Trustees. Administration Officials and the New Mexico Congressional Delegation crafted legislation from this framework and then the proposed “Valles Caldera Preservation Act.”

With support from the White House and New Mexico's Congressional Members, purchase seemed assured. To the surprise and disappointment of many involved with the acquisition, the owners then withdrew their offer to sell. After approximately six months, the owners renewed the negotiations.

A unique agreement was reached between Administration officials, the Santa Clara Pueblo Indians, and the ranch owners. The Santa Clara Pueblo Tribe purchased approximately 5,000 acres of the Ranch, which adjoined their reservation and contain the headwaters of Santa Clara Creek.

On July 25, 2000, President Clinton signed into law the Valles Caldera Preservation Act, creating the Valles Caldera National Preserve. With a purchase cost of \$101,000,000, this 95,000-acre property is the largest and most expensive purchase ever made by the Forest Service

Resisting Mines in the Rocky Mountains

In 1805, when Meriwether Lewis and William Clark made their historic journey of discovery, they found vast western plains teeming with bison and elk, with wolves and grizzlies roaming the edges of huge ungulate herds. Some semblance of that pristine western landscape survives at the foot of the Rocky Mountains in Montana, an area known as the Rocky Mountain Front. Much of it is protected by the Helena National Forest and the Lewis and Clark National Forest.

Mining laws dating to 1872 allowed anyone to enter a national forest or grassland and stake a 20-acre claim. The prospector was entitled to use the land's surface resources, with limitations only to prevent the worst abuses. A discovery of hardrock minerals could justify a patent for full mineral rights.

Since 1909, the Government acted to constrain free access to minerals on public lands if it conflicted with the public interest. In 1998, to protect the Rocky Mountain Front, the Clinton Administration prohibited leasing in the area for oil and gas. While completing the analysis necessary to enact this ban, 104 mining claims were staked in the area, eliciting a Forest Service decision to request a formal withdrawal from mining for hardrock minerals. The authority to grant such a request resided with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt. In 1999, Babbitt formally

protected the Rocky Mountain Front from hardrock mining for 20 years, with the option of subsequent 20-year protections.

This move was necessary to preserve the area for traditional and cultural activities by American Indians, to protect threatened species, and to conserve outstanding scenic areas. The Front was home to nationally important wildlife populations, including the only remaining population of prairie-ranging grizzlies in the United States. Preservation of the area was intended to keep the ecosystem intact across the Bob Marshall Wilderness Complex and Glacier National Park, in accordance with the Forest Service's commitment to landscape-level, ecosystem-based natural resource management.

Salvaging Protection of the Nation's Forests

In 1994, the majority in Congress had just gone Republican and it was eager to move the Forest Service back to a timber cutting agency. By and large, leading conservatives did not support the concept of ecosystem management or the environmental laws and regulations that allowed citizens to appeal and even sue the Government to stop controversial timber sales. In their view, these approaches thwarted timber harvesting and caused economic problems in timber-dependent communities. So the new Republican-led Congress created what became commonly known as the timber salvage rider.

Equally onerous to the intent of the legislation—to force the Forest Service to permit mass timber harvests—was the method adopted to push this unsavory legislation through. Its proponents attached the rider to the most popular legislation moving through Congress, in the hopes that Members of Congress who deeply opposed the salvage rider would be forced to vote for the overall bill, regardless of the inclusion of this objectionable provision. Perhaps the most egregious example of this strategy was the Republican leaders' decision to attach the rider to a bill that provided money to Oklahoma City to recover from the disastrous bombing. It was a provision that the entire environmental movement fought hard against. But feeling the need to obtain funding for other priority concerns, the President signed legislation that included the salvage rider.

Knowing that the salvage rider threatened to undo everything he had accomplished in the Nation's forests in his first 2 years, President Clinton was particularly concerned with a provision in the salvage rider that gave it primacy over Federal environmental protection laws. President Clinton strongly believed that Federal agencies should follow the environmental laws. In fact, as the rider was being negotiated with House and Senate conferees, a special effort was made by the Administration to give the President the discretion to ultimately decide how this provision was carried out.

As a result, an interagency memorandum was negotiated that directed the agencies to follow procedures as if the environmental laws were still largely in place. The memorandum reaffirmed the agencies' commitment to comply with existing environmental laws while conducting the salvage-related activities Congress had authorized.

The salvage rider provoked a divisive national controversy. Environmental groups branded it an attempt to allow "logging without laws." The Act contained provisions prohibiting appeals by the public and providing for sales of old-growth trees delayed by lawsuits and by new listings of threatened and endangered species. Many suspected that the real purpose of the rider was to cut old-growth timber.

Salvage sales in roadless areas also became a contentious issue. Secretary Glickman severely narrowed the scope of the legislation by directing the Forest Service to allow salvage sales in roadless areas only where the risk of fire was high in the vicinity of homes and communities or where trees were susceptible to insect attack within 3 years. Harvest of green trees during timber salvage raised further concerns. The Forest Service directed managers to subordinate the harvest of green trees to the salvage of dead and dying trees, limiting green-tree harvest during timber salvage to areas where it was necessary for safety and to improve the health of the forest.

In testimony before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources on August 1, 1996, Secretary Glickman went straight to the heart of the matter. Excluding the public from its right to consultation on managing public lands "has created an atmosphere of misinformation and even mistrust between the Government and the people." Noting that litigation had risen to unprecedented levels, the Secretary invoked the words of Gifford Pinchot, first Chief of the Forest Service, who argued that the American people must know all about their national forests and take an active part in their management. "After guiding Forest Service policy and implementing this emergency program," added the Secretary, "I wholeheartedly agree."

Secretary Glickman proposed offering 4.5 billion board feet of salvage timber, plus or minus 25 percent. The Forest Service was able to meet the requirements of the new law while observing the letter and spirit of environmental laws designed to protect our Nation's natural resources for future generations.

Recognizing the New Primacy of Recreation

After World War II, recreational visits to the national forest lands soared—from just 18 million visitor-days in 1946 to almost 1 billion in 1999. By the 1990s, recreation dwarfed all other uses of the national forests and grasslands, contributing billions of dollars to local economies.

In 1997, the Forest Service acknowledged the central role of recreation by making it a major focal area in the Natural Resource Agenda. While offering compelling evidence of the declining importance of timber, a growing number of visitors placed potential strains on the land, as well. Three-quarters of the Nation's outdoor recreation occurred within half a mile of a stream or water body. The Forest Service faced daunting challenges in meeting visitor expectations for enjoyable access to recreational activities while conserving the high quality of the wildland experience—the very thing visitors came for. The agency's first priority remained conserving and restoring watershed health.

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To meet the challenge, the Forest Service crafted a Recreation Agenda to protect the essential wildland character of the national forests and grasslands. Like the Natural Resource Agenda, the Recreation Agenda abandoned old ways of doing business. The agency adopted a customer-driven approach, relying on sound marketing to deliver the right services in the right way. Partnership was key; projects would be prioritized based on feedback from partners and local communities, in accordance with sound science.

The agenda included a new commitment to reaching youth and underserved populations, thereby building future constituencies and extending the benefits of outdoor recreation to all Americans. Another focal area was increasing the quantity and quality of conservation education and interpretive programming, thereby expanding the agency's support base while reducing the adverse effects of recreation on ecosystems. Finally, the agenda included national design standards for facilities to create a strong sense of place. The Recreation Agenda was designed to guide Forest Service recreation programs into the 21st century, helping us live within the limits of the land while increasing visitor satisfaction.

Leaving America's Wilderness Untamed

America's love affair with its wilderness has always been troubled. By the 1990s, only 5 percent of the original American wilderness remained protected. Yet the Clinton Administration understood that wilderness provides our cleanest water and air, critical habitat, quiet venues of unmatched scenic splendor, and economic benefits to communities through tourism and recreation. Responsible wildland stewardship is predicated on conserving our remaining wilderness for the benefit of future generations.

In 1994, the Forest Service rededicated itself to effective wilderness management. The agency's Wilderness Agenda committed the Forest Service to outreach, education, and training to increase public support for wilderness, including designation of new wilderness areas in underrepresented ecosystems, such as old-growth and bottomland forest. To help the agency better understand the threats to wilderness, the agenda called for a comprehensive program of wilderness inventory and monitoring and a common wilderness information delivery system shared across agencies.

Theodore Roosevelt once stood on the rim of the Grand Canyon and said, "Leave it as it is. The ages have been at work on it and man can only mar it." The same can be said about every remaining acre of American wilderness. The Wilderness Agenda was designed to address the challenges to America's remaining wilderness by working in the spirit of Theodore Roosevelt to help inspire in all Americans an awe and reverence, a love for the land—feelings that alone can ensure the conservation of our wilderness heritage.

Protecting America's Last Acres of Pristine Forest

The National Forest Transportation System mushroomed in the postwar period to meet the rising demand for timber harvests. The system grew to some 380,000 miles of forest roads. Yet only about a fifth of those roads were suitable for passenger cars. In the 1990s, with the Forest

Service's shift in emphasis to sustainable forest management, timber harvest declined to a fraction of its former level. The agency was left with a road system that was designed primarily for a vastly diminished use.

As a result, the Forest Service was no longer able to afford its vast road system. Congressional funding for forest roads declined from \$600 million in 1980 to less than \$200 million in 2000. The agency received only about 20 percent of the funding needed to maintain existing roads, and its funding backlog for roads reached \$8.4 billion--more than twice its entire 2000 budget. Deteriorating forest roads were causing landslides, soil erosion, and stream siltation, destroying habitat for sensitive species and reducing safe public access.

In 1997, the Natural Resource Agenda made a sound system of forest roads a top Forest Service priority. The agency began the process of revising its road management rule and policy. The final rule required roads to meet standards designed to ensure their efficient management within the capabilities of the land. Standards included compliance with resource objectives and sustainability at likely funding levels. All adverse environmental effects associated with road construction and maintenance were to be minimized. Unneeded roads were to be identified for decommissioning, starting with those that posed the greatest risk to public safety or environmental health. Public involvement in forest road management was ensured through coordination with State, county, local, Tribal, and other Federal authorities. Additionally, the final rule included interim limitations for new road construction in sensitive areas until a comprehensive analysis is conducted.

Watershed and Rural Community Initiatives

An Intense Focus on Large-Scale Watershed Restoration

In the 1990s, the Forest Service increasingly embraced a fundamental truth formulated by Aldo Leopold, a one-time Forest Service employee who founded the science of wildlife management and pioneered the field of ecology in the 1930s. "Instead of learning more and more about less and less," Leopold noted, "we must learn more and more about the whole biotic landscape." Leopold understood that land health is impossible without a comprehensive, landscape-level approach to managing the land.

Beginning in 1997, the Forest Service emphasized a watershed approach to landscape-level land management. "Given the fundamental importance of water to all life," said Chief Dombeck, "healthy watersheds are the basic measure of our mission at the Forest Service to care for the land and serve people." In 1999, the Forest Service broke new ground by launching a series of collaborative large-scale watershed restoration projects. Around the country, 15 large watersheds, providing water for millions of people and habitat for numerous threatened species, were chosen to become national prototypes for a more visionary management of ailing watersheds and ecosystems.

The Forest Service's large-scale watershed restoration projects covered parts of 23 States. In 2000, the Forest Service invested \$24 million in 12 watershed restoration projects across the country. Our Federal, State, Tribal, and private partners put up about \$22 million in matching funds. The projects ranged from the 3-million-acre Blue Mountain Demonstration Area in Oregon to the multi-State Chesapeake Bay Watershed Partnership in the mid-Atlantic region.

Short-term gains were immediately apparent. For example, project teams established more than 70 miles of riparian forest and 1,500 acres of native grass in critical watersheds. Partnerships were of every type, public and private, large and small; almost 13,000 individuals were involved. From the hardwood forests of the Mississippi Delta to the Green Mountains of Vermont, community development happened on many levels, attesting to the connection between ecological and economic health. From Pacific Northwest forests to New York's watershed, project partners pioneered new technologies, such as electronic ear tags to manage cattle grazing near streams and modified wood fibers that absorb pollutants from surface runoff.

Through the projects, the Forest Service leveraged scarce resources — people, dollars, and facilities — to accomplish shared objectives across the landscape. The watershed partnership approach is based on a few key principles: a shared long-term vision for the land; cooperative decisionmaking across land ownerships; shared costs and workloads; and a commitment to new approaches. Aside from specific project benefits, the initiatives communicated to the public the importance of private and public forests for water quality. By weaving together urban, rural, and wildland landscapes, these efforts connected the forest to the faucet. Through an unprecedented partnership and its results, the projects helped strengthen the fabric, natural and social, of the lands and communities that together comprise America.

A Shared Federal Vision for Watershed Management

More than 800 million acres of the Nation's land are managed by Federal agencies for multiple uses, such as drinking water, irrigation, transportation, recreation, and wildlife habitat. At the President's direction, USDA worked with other Federal agencies and other stakeholders to develop the Unified Federal Policy for a Watershed Approach to Land and Resource Management to protect water quality and the health of aquatic ecosystems on Federal lands.

The primary goals of this effort are to prevent and reduce pollution of surface and ground waters caused by Federal land and resource management activities. The policy calls on Federal agencies to:

- Use a common science-based approach to watershed assessments of Federal lands,
- Take a more holistic approach to protecting and restoring watersheds,
- Identify critical watersheds for priority allocation of resources,
- Improve compliance with water quality requirements under the Clean Water Act, and
- Enhance collaboration with Tribes, States, and interested stakeholders.

This policy enables the Federal Government serve as a model for water quality stewardship.

American Heritage Rivers

In his 1997 State of the Union Address, President Clinton announced the American Heritage Rivers initiative to provide special recognition to outstanding stretches of America's rivers. This initiative is an innovative response to communities seeking Federal assistance in revitalizing their economies, protecting natural resources, and preserving the history and culture of their rivers.

Communities across America answered the President's call by nominating 126 rivers for designation as American Heritage Rivers. An advisory committee reviewed the nominations and recommended 10 rivers to the President. He chose to designate 14.

Without imposing new Federal regulatory requirements, the American Heritage Rivers initiative used Federal resources to lend a helping hand. For example, the Government provided small business grants and loans; information to help communities identify and evaluate historic, environmental, and economic resources; training in the use of soil and water quality information as a basis for decisionmaking and program monitoring; research and interpretive assistance in compiling and communicating a river history; technical and financial assistance for river restoration and pollution prevention; and economic modeling to help communities assess benefits and costs of proposed projects.

The American Heritage Rivers initiative was founded upon the belief that what is good for the environment is also good for the economy. The initiative brought citizens, businesses, and Government together to clean up rivers, rejuvenate surrounding areas, and stimulate economic growth.

Return of an Old Enemy: Fire

Three factors changed the face of wildland fire management in the 1990s: the massive 1994 South Canyon Fire, the rising number of large conflagrations of 1,000 acres or more, and the growing number of homes built in fire-prone rural areas--the so-called wildland-urban interface.

The South Canyon Fire will long be remembered, next to such firefighting calamities as the 1910 Big Blowup and the 1949 Mann Gulch Fire, as a pivotal event in the annals of wildland firefighting. On July 6, 1994, on the outskirts of Glenwood Springs, CO, what was supposed to be a routine fire suppression effort on Storm King Mountain resulted in 14 firefighter fatalities. The tragedy riveted the Nation. Memorials to the fallen still serve as a focal point for wildland firefighters, much as the Vietnam Memorial serves as an emotional center for military veterans.

The subsequent South Canyon Fire investigation report set in motion a series of reviews and an interagency effort to effect fundamental change, culminating in the 1995 Federal Wildland Fire Management Policy and Program Review. The new interagency policy confirmed that firefighter and public safety is a universal responsibility and the first priority of the Forest Service. The policy also focused renewed attention on fire use for wildland health, on effective preparedness and suppression programs, on wildland-urban interface protection, and on coordinated efforts.

The 1994 fire season was pivotal in another way. In that year, more than 1.4 million acres burned on the national forests and grasslands. It was only the third time since 1919 that the National Forest System had seen more than a million acres burn in a single fire season. The two previous severe fire seasons had come just a few years earlier, in 1987 and 1988. More than a million acres burned again in 1996, and then again in 2000. The trend was clear: Large fires were returning to the interior West.

As Chief Dombeck put it, "sooner or later, rivers will fill their flood plains and fire-adapted ecosystems will burn." For thousands of years, severe fires in higher elevation forests had etched patchwork patterns into the landscape every few decades or centuries. In a sense, Mother Nature was reclaiming her turf. But our worst fire problems had little to do with Mother Nature.

Ironically, the rising effectiveness of fire suppression efforts had exacerbated the risk of major conflagrations. At lower elevations, western forest types historically had frequent low-intensity fires that kept the number of trees per acre low. Large, severe fires were rare in these open western forests. Beginning in the 1930s, growing firefighting effectiveness excluded virtually all fire from the forests, even small fires. As a result, small trees and brush, no longer purged by fire, now built up in lower elevation western forests. Dense thickets commonly added 200 to 2,000 small trees per acre in old-growth stands and 2,000 to 10,000 small trees per acre where the forest canopy had been removed through timber harvest. When fires now occurred, the dense trees became dense fuels with the potential to generate fires so severe that they destroyed entire forest stands. In 2000, some 56 million acres of national forests in the interior West were at high or moderate risk of major wildland fires.

The heightened fire risk was exacerbated by the growing wildland-urban interface. A rising population density in many rural areas placed people and communities in forest ecosystems naturally prone to fire, increasing the threat to life and property. Wildland-urban interface fires, such as the 1991 Oakland Hills Fire, graphically illustrated the destructive power of wildland fire in an urban environment. Drought conditions in Florida in 1998 produced wildland fires affecting much of the State's population; entire counties were evacuated, and firefighting resources had to be brought in from across the country. In 2000, the Cerro Grande Fire burned parts of Los Alamos, NM; and the Buffalo Creek, Hi Meadow, and Bobcat Fires threatened communities in Colorado. Wildland and rural fire managers were in a quandary: How could they meet traditional expectations for fire protection by a public that chose to live in a fire-prone environment?

Such challenges, coupled with changing public attitudes toward natural resource use, contributed to a revolution in Federal wildland fire policy. A new fire management paradigm, inaugurated in the 1970s, adopted controlled burns that fight fire with fire. The concept gained strength in the 1990s in tandem with the Forest Service's more holistic approach to natural resource management. The need for greater stakeholder involvement, the rising cost of fire protection, the growing number of large fires, and the increasing emphasis on safety all came together to produce a series of new policy initiatives culminating in the 2000 National Fire Plan.

On September 8, 2000, Secretary Glickman and Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt delivered a national plan to the President outlining steps to better manage fire for the health of America's communities and environment. Congress appropriated \$2 billion for the National Fire Plan. The plan called for increasing our national firefighting capabilities; rehabilitating and restoring lands and communities affected by fire; using techniques such as prescribed fire to reduce hazardous fuels; and working with and through local communities to carry out rehabilitation, restoration, and fuels reduction projects. The National Fire Plan offered unprecedented opportunities for investing in the long-term health of the land while making our rural communities safer places to live and work.

Severing State Payments from Timber Sales

Since 1908, States have received 25 percent of Forest Service revenues to help fund schools and roads. The original thinking was that since the land was owned by the public, a portion of the proceeds derived from selling commodities on that land should be returned to the public. Yet the payments were tied to fluctuating timber sales. By 2000, with timber sales in decline, payments to States and counties had dropped by 36 percent.

In 1999, after several previous attempts, the Clinton Administration successfully proposed increasing and stabilizing payments to States by decoupling them from the amount of timber harvested from national forests. Two bills were introduced in Congress, but both were blocked by a Republican leadership well aware that severing the connection to county payments would erect yet another barrier to their goal of mass timber harvests. Two more bills with Republican backing were opposed by the Administration for continuing to link payments to timber sales. One of them passed the House in November 1999. Backed by the timber industry, many county commissioners and superintendents, and the National Education Association, it linked timber sales to payments for county schools and roads.

The Clinton Administration responded by stating its willingness to work with Congress if five core principles were adhered to: (1) providing a permanent, stable source of funding to counties, (2) allowing flexibility at the local level, (3) promoting non-controversial projects to build trust and collaboration, (4) promoting strong collaboration, and (5) establishing clear lines of authorities. After nearly 11 months of negotiation, a compromise was reached. The bill signed into law gave counties the option of continuing to receive 25 percent of timber receipts or basing payments on the average of the State's three highest payments from 1986 to 1999. It also would require counties opting to receive the latter payments and receiving more than \$100,000 to invest 15 to 20 percent in forest restoration, maintenance, or stewardship. Finally, it would require the Secretary of Agriculture to create citizen advisory committees representing environmental, commercial, and local interests. ...

On October 30, 2000, the President signed the Secure Rural Schools and Community Self-Determination Act, increasing payments to rural counties by about \$1.1 billion over 5 years. As a result, a key Clinton-Gore goal was achieved: Counties no longer have to depend on controversial timber sales to provide the funding for their local schools and roads.

Cleaning Up Abandoned Mines

In the 20th century, thousands of abandoned mines accumulated on national forests, threatening public health, degrading water quality, destroying wildlife habitat, and diminishing recreational opportunities. Under the Clinton Administration, the Forest Service worked with other Federal agencies, State enforcement agencies, Indian Tribes and interested parties to clean up sites and restore natural conditions.

A 1998 inventory identified about 39,000 abandoned or inactive mines on national forest lands. Some 5,000 mine sites required cleanup. In addition, national forests harbored numerous landfills, dumps, and illegal drug laboratories, adding to the cleanup burden. Another 100 cleanup actions were required on lands used by the Department of Defense to deal with hazardous substances and unexploded ordnance.

President Clinton's Forest Service encouraged the private parties responsible to clean up the sites they had contaminated. Since 1995, Forest Service actions resulted in more than \$200 million worth of cleanup work. The Forest Service incorporated its cleanup and restoration projects into its natural resource management programs, such as watershed restoration and minerals management. Sites were prioritized for cleanup based on the risk to human health and the threat to the environment.

Timber Contracting Becomes Stewardship Contracting

In the 1990s, the Forest Service took steps to end the divisive debates surrounding timber harvest on the national forests by making watershed health and sustainable forest ecosystems agency priorities. Timber harvest continued, but at a fraction of the peak levels reached in the 1980s, down from more than 12 billion board feet per year to about 3 to 4 billion board feet per year. The primary purpose of timber harvest on the national forests became healthy forest management, not furnishing wood for the Nation.

Traditionally, the Forest Service has relied not only on timber harvest, but also on service contracts as vegetation management tools to reduce risks to forest health from disease, insects, and wildland fire. However, the early 1990s revealed the limitations of both tools. Public uproar continued to surround timber sales. Furthermore, the declining commercial value of the vegetation the Forest Service needed to remove rendered commercial timber harvest increasingly infeasible, and timber sale contracts do not permit the Forest Service to require purchasers to perform land management activities unrelated to the timber harvest activities under the contract. Service contracts are a powerful and flexible tool, but they cannot be used to dispose of commercially valuable material. Moreover, limited appropriations always constrain the amount of work that can be accomplished in this manner. . .

In 1996, the Forest Service began to consider the alternative of stewardship contracting. Stewardship contracts combine timber sale contracts with multifunction procurements over multiple years. They are results-oriented and promote local collaboration. By 1998, the Forest Service had identified 22 stewardship contracting pilot projects. In 1999, Congress authorized

the Forest Service to enter into up to 28 "stewardship end-results demonstration contracts." The legislation included expanded authorities, such as retention of receipts, exchange of goods for services, and best value award of contracts. These pilot projects are widely distributed geographically, test all supplemental authorities, and address a broad array of ecological as well as social and economic objectives.

Initial reactions to stewardship contracts were favorable. New coalitions emerged around the pilot projects, sometimes including groups typically opposed to Forest Service activities. Attention often focused on the desired condition of the land, not on resource-specific advocacy. The contentious concept of a commercial sale was eclipsed by a focus on meeting the total needs of a given watershed in a comprehensive manner. As a result of the initial success of these efforts, Congress in 2001 authorized the creation of an additional 28 stewardship contracts.

Bridging the Divide: The Quincy Library Group

Since the 1970s, a divisive debate between logging and environmental interests has debilitated national efforts to restore our public forest lands to health. By the 1990s, the contending extremes had somewhat exhausted their energy and public appeal. Hopeful signs emerged of a new approach as former adversaries began to sit down together, putting aside what divided them to discuss what they had in common.

The Quincy Library Group in California's Sierra Nevada region was one such initiative. The group emerged in 1992 from a meeting between representatives of Friends of Plumas Wilderness, an environmental group, and Sierra Pacific Industries, a member of the timber industry. The meeting was mediated by the supervisor of Plumas County, who chose Quincy Library as the venue to help keep the meeting civil.

That first meeting was followed by years of efforts to change management of California's Lassen and Plumas National Forests and the Sierraville District of the Tahoe National Forest to promote forest health and ecological integrity while ensuring an adequate timber supply and local economic stability. The Quincy Library Group proposed three strategies: (1) selecting trees, singly and in groups, for harvest immediately throughout the forest to maintain a relatively continuous forest cover, (2) carrying out various fire management objectives, and (3) establishing a riparian management program, including wide protection zones and active restoration efforts.

The group's goal was an all-age, multi-storied, fire-resistant forest approximating presettlement conditions.

From 1995 through 1997, the Forest Service implemented a forest health pilot project based on the activities advocated by the group. The group's efforts paid off when the Herger-Feinstein Quincy Library Group Forest Recovery Act was signed into law on October 21, 1998. The Act directed USDA to conduct a pilot project along the lines advocated by the group. Unfortunately, the Act did not appropriate specific funding for the project, and the Forest Service estimated a

cost of \$31 million per year for full implementation of the pilot project up to 70,000 acres. In 2000, with a project budget limited to \$12.2 million, the Forest Service carried out a pilot project on about 20,500 acres.

President Clinton's Lands Legacy Initiative

Under pressure from development, many acres of private forestland are being converted and fragmented every day. Outright purchase to protect our remaining forests is not always a viable option; a voluntary approach is often preferable. Perpetual conservation easements can be a powerful tool for private forestland protection.

Through the Forest Legacy Program, the Forest Service works with State Foresters, local governments, land trusts, and interested landowners to conserve forest lands of regional and national significance. Through conservation easements or fee simple purchase, the partners cooperate with willing landowners to ensure that traditional uses and public values are protected on private forestland for future generations.

President Clinton's Lands Legacy Initiative propelled the Forest Legacy Program from a small, underfunded effort to an important national program to protect private forests from development. Previously an underfunded program – bottoming out at \$2 million in 1997–inclusion in the Lands Legacy Initiative brought full White House backing–and vital funding. From about \$7 million in 1999, funding jumped to almost \$30 million in 2000 and then doubled to \$60 million in 2001.

By August 2000, the program had protected 118,655 acres in 12 States. For example, a large land value donation was made a short distance from rapidly developing areas of Salt Lake City, UT. The land ranges from snow-covered peaks and alpine lakes to rich downstream meadows and pastureland; it remained in family ownership, but is now protected for generations to come.

Beyond Forest Communities

The Urban Resources Partnership

In 1993, the Clinton Administration launched the Urban Resources Partnership. For 7 years, Federal agencies and partners collaborated with underserved communities to address environmental problems, based on a shared realization that a greener urban infrastructure will produce neighborhoods that are cleaner, healthier, more energy-efficient, and ultimately more prosperous.

The partnership put Government resources at the service of community-led projects, which included restoring streambanks, establishing public trails, conducting anti-littering/beautification campaigns, and enhancing water quality and urban wildlife habitat.

Each participating city established a steering committee that might include various government agencies, nonprofit organizations, and local businesses. The steering committee established the

local partnership's mission, investigated natural resource conditions and community needs, set priorities, and agreed to a grant application process. It then assembled a technical team to work on projects with community leaders.

The partnerships were partially funded through \$300,000 USDA grants to each of the 13 designated cities. Communities matched each Federal dollar with labor, in-kind donations, and local funding. These partnerships tapped the enormous power of community-based action to empower urban communities to enhance their quality of life and build a stronger social fabric.

Millennium Green

In the 1990s, urban areas were rapidly expanding, often at the expense of neighboring farm- and forestland. Decades of development had left many of our urban areas with a tree canopy of less than 20 percent, adversely affecting streams and wetland buffer systems, water quality, storm water runoff, air quality, and a host of other factors related to human and environmental health.

To help address the problem, the Clinton Administration established a White House Millennium Council to encourage the creation of healthier, more livable community environments in the 21st century. In 1999, the council asked that USDA lead a Millennium Green Initiative.

One of the campaign's first efforts was to establish Millennium Groves across the country. Millennium Green was officially launched in December 1999 with the dedication of a white oak in front of the USDA headquarters building by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Secretary Glickman. Numerous Millennium Green celebrations followed, along with a number of related State initiatives and events in cities and communities across the country during the spring planting season.

Overarching Service Initiatives

Forest Service Reinvention

In 1993, the Clinton Administration launched an initiative to "reinvent" Government through more efficient, cost-effective, responsive ways of working on behalf of Americans. Among dozens of Forest Service reinvention actions, three achievements stand out:

- The Forest Service's Enterprise Initiative encouraged the agency to operate more like a business and less like a Federal bureaucracy. Employees created their own "small businesses" serving customers, operating in a self-determined, self-motivated way. The Initiative applied the best ideas of the business world to motivate and reward Forest Service employees for high-quality work. "The Forest Service is growing its own small businesses," noted *Government Executive Magazine* (November 1999), "and possibly building the Government of the future."
- Service First is a partnership of the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management to enable the Nation's two largest Federal land managers to deliver one-stop customer service to users of public lands while improving their collective capability to care for the

land. By pooling resources, the agencies avoid duplication of effort, co-locate offices, share personnel, combine operations, harmonize processes and permits, and standardize public information. Through Service First, the American people get a single, unified, common-sense approach to customer service on nearly a third of the Nation's lands.

- The Forest Service and six other Federal agencies designed *recreation.gov* to provide recreation information on all Federal lands in the United States over the Internet. In the past, recreational users had to seek information through myriad sources. Now, they have a one-stop, 24-hour source of information on all Federal lands.

Reinvesting Visitor Fees in the Region

Before the Clinton Administration, all receipts on Federal lands were returned to general Government funds and could not be invested in the projects, facilities, and services that generated them. As a result, by the 1990s, many underfunded Federal facilities were deteriorating—even though they often generated significant money for the Federal Government. The Forest Service joined other Federal agencies in working with Congress to address the problem. In 1996, Congress authorized a test: Fees collected from recreational users at pilot sites would be retained for investment at those sites. The Recreational Fee Demonstration Program was born.

From 1995 to 2001, the Forest Service retained most project revenues at 100 specially chosen recreation sites. In 1999, the Forest Service collected \$26.5 million. The fees were used to maintain thousands of miles of trails, retrofit hundreds of facilities and sites for accessibility, refurbish hundreds of campsites, upgrade signs and information for visitors, expand office hours for visitor centers, and more. The Forest Service reinvested at least 90 percent of revenues at the project or site where these fees were collected. The remainder was distributed to projects within the region. Unfortunately, this innovative approach to financing needed improvements in America's national forests was de-funded by Congress in 2001.

Olympics on the National Forests

The Cherokee National Forest served as a venue for the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta, GA. The Forest Service collaborated with the Tennessee Valley Authority, the State of Tennessee, and local communities to promote economic development in the Ocoee watershed, including promotion for the world's greatest whitewater facility. The result: the first Olympic Games whitewater slalom event on a natural river.

After the 1996 success, the national forests were again invited to serve as an Olympic venue, this time for the 2002 Olympic Winter Games in Utah. The Forest Service began planning responsible development of the Snowbasin Ski Area on the Wasatch-Cache National Forest. The agency regarded the games as a unique opportunity to showcase recreation in national forests while linking healthy ecosystems to quality of life.

The Forest Service's main goal was to help ensure that Olympic activities on the national forests were safe and environmentally sound. That included consultation on facilities development, avalanche forecasting, and educating the public about avalanche dangers. Other goals included working with local communities to help visitors to the games feel safe and welcome. In addition, the Forest Service worked to leave a legacy for future generations by upgrading and restoring out-of-date recreation areas and by helping to plant groves of Olympic trees at 1,600 schools and communities throughout Utah.

Showcasing the Nation's Lakes

The Federal Lakes Recreation Demonstration Program was founded as a laboratory for Vice President Gore's reinventing Government efforts. An eight-agency group formed in 1999, the program was designed to showcase improvements to recreation opportunities on Federal lakes. Projects chosen for the program had a high level of community and interagency support, but faced regulatory challenges to their lake management plans. Demonstration projects were designed to show how the regulatory or contracting authority could be improved or how partnership funding could be obtained. Six nominated projects were accepted and added to the pilot list of 30 lakes.

Promoting Sustainable Forestry⁵

Since the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, USDA has been a leader in the international movement for sustainable development. In November 1993, the President issued a directive ordering Federal agencies to work toward "achieving sustainable management of U.S. forests." From 1993 to 1995, the Forest Service participated in the Montreal Process, an international initiative to develop criteria and indicators of sustainable forest management for temperate and boreal forests. This work led to the Santiago Declaration by the United States and 11 other countries, in which signatories endorsed the agreed upon criteria and indicators as a tool for monitoring and guiding progress toward sustainable forest management. Since its inception in 1999, USDA also was an active participant in the Roundtable on Sustainable Forests, which included representatives from the forest products industry, nongovernmental organizations, and various government agencies from across the country. Under the Clinton Administration's leadership, the principle of sustainable resource management became an intrinsic part of all of the Forest Service's work. This approach was endorsed by the Committee of Scientists that Secretary Glickman appointed to review the Forest Service's long-term goals. They, too, identified sustainability as the fundamental principle for managing the Nation's forests.

Conclusion

In his 1998 State of the Union address, President Clinton told the American people, "every time we have acted to heal our environment, pessimists have told us it would hurt the economy. Well,

⁵For a detailed discussion of these efforts, please see the paper in the appendix to this chapter entitled "Promoting Sustainable Development," prepared by USDA's Director of Sustainable Development during the Clinton-Gore years, Adela Backiel.

today our economy is the strongest in a generation, and our environment is the cleanest in a generation. We have always found a way to clean the environment and grow the economy at the same time." This notion of the economy and the environment advancing hand-in-hand was a central theme of the Clinton-Gore Administration. By the 1990s, it also had grown into a central American value. Yet no arena had managed so successfully to remain behind the times and out of step with the American people as the management of the Nation's forests.

The Clinton-Gore Administration developed a proactive vision of a sustainable future for the Nation's forests and grasslands; they brought the American people more fully into the process of managing their forests; they established a strong precedent for valuing all the "commodities" of our national forests—from timber, to recreation to environmental protection; and they connected policies and programs with modern science's understanding of the need to protect an entire ecosystem to safeguard all that it supports—from clean air and water, to wildlife, to forests that produce them. In taking these bold and visionary steps, the Administration returned the management of the Nation's forests to its original mission: to care for these special places "for the greatest good, for the greatest number, for the long run." In doing so, the Clinton-Gore Administration returned the Nation's forests to their rightful owners—all generations of Americans yet to come.

3. From Tragedy Comes a Revolution in Food Safety

*"I carry with me today a very simple message from President Clinton:
America will never forget."*

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman
5th Anniversary of the Pacific Northwest *E. coli*
outbreak
January 18, 1998

President Clinton and Vice President Gore took office in the wake of a severe *E. coli* O157:H7 outbreak in the Pacific Northwest. More than 700 were sickened and 4 children died as a result of eating undercooked hamburger at a fast food restaurant. The Nation was horrified, and issues of food safety and inspections rocketed to the top of the national priority list. Consumers organized and founded Safe Tables Our Priority (STOP), a nonprofit organization devoted to improving the safety of the Nation's food supply and the meat and poultry industry entered a period of self-examination. President Clinton and Secretary Mike Espy vowed to revolutionize food safety in America to help ensure that such a tragedy would not be repeated.

Food safety reforms were long overdue. The United States created its Federal food safety system in the early 1900s. These early food safety laws, in fact, were the Nation's first consumer protection laws. The impetus for the legislation was Upton Sinclair's book *The Jungle*, which exposed the horrifying conditions in most meat plants at the time. These early laws, covering the meat, poultry, and egg industries, provided for regular inspection of slaughtering facilities and processing plants.

Nearing the turn of a new century, American agriculture reflected the substantial changes and progress of our Nation over nearly 100 years. Large, more mechanized, and productive farms increasingly replaced the small family farm. Technology and scientific innovations led to mass production methods and the common practice of successfully transporting perishable foods over long distances. A more global economy brought food from around the world to America's dinner tables. And finally, the expectations and behavior patterns of consumers changed significantly. Modern consumers eat an ever-growing percentage of their food away from home, and they purchase more prepared and ready-to-eat products.

But while the Nation and U.S. agriculture changed immensely, America's meat and poultry inspection system evolved very little. Efforts to modernize the system failed, and recommendations to enhance inspections through science went unanswered. For example, in 1985, the National Academy of Sciences issued a report⁶ highlighting serious gaps in the

⁶*"Meat and Poultry Inspection, the Scientific Basis of the Nation's Program."*

Nation's food safety inspection system. But its recommendations were never acted upon; consumers and Government officials generally seemed happy with the status quo. So the U.S. meat and poultry inspection system that President Clinton and Vice President Gore inherited remained much as it was under President Theodore Roosevelt in 1906.

First Attempts At Reform

The Pacific Northwest tragedy changed the political landscape for food safety reform. Those who resisted modernization could not ignore the powerful public mandate for change--a mandate President Clinton's USDA seized. Secretary Espy and USDA's Food Safety and Inspection Service (FSIS) began developing a strategic plan that would improve food safety from the farm to the table. This plan covered everything from safe-preparation labels on the meat and poultry that consumers buy at the grocery store to a significant overhaul of the Nation's meat and poultry inspections. Under the plan, microbiological testing would be integrated into the inspection program. Most notably, the plan called for the use of the Pathogen Reduction/Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Point (PR/HACCP) approach to food safety.

Developed in the 1960s by NASA to ensure the safety of food eaten by astronauts, HACCP is a "process control" approach for ensuring safe food by identifying all steps in the process, determining what might go wrong at each step, and implementing measures to prevent those potential problems.

Recognizing that even the best systems could not deliver a "silver bullet" that ensures meat and poultry is completely free of pathogens, USDA also made consumer information and education a top priority. In late 1993, safe cooking and handling labels were mandated on all raw meat and poultry products. Four industry groups filed a lawsuit alleging that USDA did not have good cause to dispense with notice and comment rulemaking, which is required by law (unless those procedures are "impracticable, unnecessary, or contrary to the public interest"). USDA argued that the emergence of a new and deadly pathogen, *E.coli* O157:H7, justified mandating safe-handling labels on an interim basis. The court sided with the industry groups. Rather than appeal the decision, which would have taken months, USDA published a proposed rule with a 30-day comment period and then issued a final rule.

In September of 1994, Secretary Espy sent a bill to Congress to establish pathogen standards for meat and poultry. The Pathogen Reduction Act of 1994 directed USDA to establish regulations to limit the presence of human pathogens in poultry at slaughter and ensure that appropriate means are taken to control the presence and growth of human pathogens on poultry prepared in an official establishment. The bill proposed increased authority for the Secretary in order to protect the public health in the event that unsafe food entered the marketplace. This authority would have empowered USDA to: recall potentially unsafe food, trace adulterated product back to the source, and levy civil penalties against establishments that put the public health at risk. The legislation was introduced by Senator Tom Daschle (D-SD) and Congressman Charles Stenholm (D-TX), but it failed to pass either Houses following industry opposition.

Despite this setback, President Clinton's USDA continued to modernize the meat and poultry inspection system and further ensure food safety. On October 13, 1994, President Clinton endorsed and signed legislation that USDA had advocated to reorganize the Department. This legislation included a provision that separated USDA's food safety responsibilities from its agricultural marketing work. The reorganization also placed USDA's public health oversight responsibilities under a newly created mission area, the Office of the Under Secretary for Food Safety. As a result, USDA now had the highest-ranking food safety official in the U.S. Government. To ensure that public health was the top priority, the reorganization legislation expressly stated that this position could go only to someone with "specialized training or significant experience in food safety or public health programs." Then-FSIS Administrator Mike Taylor was named Acting Under Secretary shortly after joining the agency in August of 1994. Catherine Woteki, Ph.D., R.D., became the first confirmed Under Secretary on July 31, 1997.

Further underscoring the Department's commitment to a science-based food safety system, Administrator Taylor, within weeks of joining FSIS, flatly declared *E. coli* O157:H7 an adulterant in ground beef. This move made clear that meat contaminated with the pathogen should be taken off the market. "This was a critical event in the history of food safety," said Taylor. "Within its first few weeks, the Administration was confronted with a public health issue that shed light on a significant gap in the country's food safety system. That event triggered and elevated the Administration's focus on food safety." In October 1994, the agency announced it would begin sampling and testing raw ground beef for the pathogen. This represented a major shift in policy as the agency, before its independence, had considered the presence of such pathogens "natural." In an attempt to stop the testing, a group of industry organizations and supermarkets filed suit claiming that the Administrative Procedure Act required USDA to go through notice and comment rulemaking. The court found that the policy was actually an "interpretative rule," and that notice and comment rulemaking was not required. The testing began.

A Science-Based Revolution in Food Safety

As early as 1994, USDA began asking for stakeholder input as FSIS began the awesome task of drafting the landmark PR/HACCP rule. In March of 1994, a roundtable meeting was held to discuss this major overhaul of the Nation's meat and poultry inspection systems with representatives from consumer groups, Government, industry, scientific organizations, and farmer/producer groups. The proposed rule called for an end to a command-and-control approach to inspection, which dictated the exact steps that were required to meet a specific food safety regulation. In contrast to this "cookie-cutter" approach, the new HACCP rule would focus on preventing the problems that cause contamination in the first place. Under the new system, plants target the most significant hazards and build in controls to prevent them. USDA inspectors still retain their presence, but their focus shifts from dependence on sight, touch and smell examination to making sure the plant's HACCP plan is working and that microbiological tests are being conducted to confirm the safety of their product.

The Clinton Administration recognized the revolutionary nature of the proposal and made clear its intention to overhaul a system that had evolved very little for more than 8 decades. This naturally caused angst and raised questions among even those most supportive of the shift. For this reason, the Department committed to an open rulemaking process in which all stakeholders could ask questions, voice concerns, and make suggestions. Public meetings were held in various settings. There were seven informational sessions, a two-day hearing, three scientific and technical briefings, a town-hall meeting for FSIS employees, and a food safety summit hosted by Secretary Glickman. The comment period for the proposed rule was extended twice, and FSIS ultimately received approximately 7,500 written comments.

The PR/HACCP final rule was published on July 25, 1996.

The agency continued to work with the industry and more than 7,500 FSIS inspectors and veterinarians to ensure that everyone would be comfortable with, and up to speed on, the new system. All plants first were required to put in place sanitation standard operating procedures (SSOPs), which were tailored to their specific operations. The SCOPs are plans developed by each plant to plot how they will meet basic sanitation requirements, such as ensuring clean facilities and equipment. In addition, all slaughter plants were required to conduct microbial testing for generic *E. coli* to verify that their systems to prevent fecal contamination were working. To further verify that the HACCP system was working, FSIS set a pathogen reduction performance standard for *Salmonella*. *Salmonella* was chosen because it is an indicator of other pathogens and the U.S. Centers for Disease Control had good historical data about illness caused by the pathogen.

With a fundamental shift underway in its inspection system, FSIS conducted a top-to-bottom review of its regulatory roles, resource allocation, and organizational structure in the new HACCP environment. The day after the final rule was published, Secretary Glickman announced that FSIS would reorganize itself to maximize the agency's inspection and enforcement capabilities. The plan reduced the number of non-front-line employees by 20 percent. The reorganization also created the Office of Public Health and Science, which included several new divisions that reflected the science-based, public health focus of the new FSIS: Epidemiology, Risk Assessment, and Emerging Pathogens and Zoonotic Diseases.

Once HACCP was in place, USDA recognized that it still had food safety regulations on the books that reflected the old "command-and-control" format. Because this was inconsistent with HACCP's tailored, preventive approach, more than a dozen rules were either revoked or changed to: improve food safety, reflect the HACCP approach, and/or make the regulations less burdensome and easier to use. FSIS did such a good job with its regulatory reform efforts that it was designated a Government "Reinvention Center" by Vice President Gore's National Performance Review.

An increased emphasis on science was a centerpiece of the inspection modernization effort. Equally important was the recognition that in order to truly improve the food safety system,

USDA would have to reach beyond the walls of slaughtering and processing plants. This led to a new emphasis on the "farm-to-table" continuum. To this end, FSIS teamed up with the Food and Drug Administration to identify hazards associated with transportation and storage. FSIS also partnered with the Environmental Protection Agency to measure human health risks associated with the presence of carcinogenic dioxin residues in cattle, swine, and poultry. And FSIS worked with the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to gather baseline data on the incidence of foodborne illness due to meat, poultry, and egg products. These partnerships were natural next steps as the Clinton Administration began to look at food safety issues more broadly.

Hudson Recall Event

When National Public Radio identified the top three stories of 1997, topping the list was the tragic death of Princess Diana. The second biggest story was U.N. inspectors searching for chemical weapons in Iraq. The third biggest story was the record recall of more than 25 million pounds of hamburger from the Hudson Foods Company, believed to be the largest food recall in U.S. history. The event undoubtedly also influenced the outcome of a subsequent *USA Today* poll. Surveying consumers, the newspaper ranked the fear of getting sick from eating contaminated meat or poultry fifth highest among Americans' greatest concerns, close behind being diagnosed with cancer and becoming the victim of a violent crime.

The event began in August of 1997 with Hudson's recall of 20,000 pounds of frozen beef patties for possible contamination of *E. coli* O157:H7. Because of poor record keeping, the "reworking" of meat from one day to another, and shoddy cleanup practices by the company, within several days the recall engulfed 25 million pounds of potentially contaminated product. A Colorado outbreak earlier in the month triggered the recall when more than 20 people became violently ill. Most had grilled and eaten hamburgers processed by the Hudson plant.

The high profile nature of the event prompted the Clinton Administration to once again seek legislation that would give USDA critical food safety enforcement tools: the ability to fine companies that fell short of their food safety responsibilities and the ability to order a mandatory recall of potentially unsafe food. Although introduced in Congress more than once by the Clinton Administration, the legislation was never enacted, largely because Congress generally supported industry's argument that an expansion of USDA authority was unnecessary. In a radio address of May 2000, President Clinton made clear his disappointment. "The Department has the right to penalize a circus to protect animals from harm," he said. "It's about time we gave them the tool they need to protect human beings from harm, too."

HACCP Launch

Once the Clinton-Gore Administration had successfully launched the HACCP revolution, the first real test would be getting the new system up and running in plants across the country. In the end, HACCP's implementation went smoothly, thanks to extensive USDA preparation of its inspectors and plant employees. Hard scientific data reflected its success almost immediately. Also, despite loud cries from HACCP opponents that many plants, particularly small ones, could

not survive under the rigors of the new system, the number of operations suffering business setbacks was minimal.

These facts represented a monumental achievement when one considers that the transition to HACCP meant that meat and poultry plants had to: (1) develop and implement written sanitary operating plans; (2) begin operating under a system of preventive controls, which they had to design and maintain; (3) in the case of slaughter plants, had to conduct microbial testing for generic *E. coli* to verify the adequacy of their process controls for preventing fecal contamination; and (4) in the case of plants producing raw ground products, had to meet pathogen reduction performance standards for *Salmonella*.

Recognizing that this transition would be more of a challenge for smaller plants and that it would take time to train all of their inspectors, USDA opted for a phase-in of the new rule. The Nation's 300 largest plants (500+ employees) were required to come under the new system first, followed by plants with 10-499 employees, and ultimately working down to even smaller, often family-owned, operations.

Under the new HACCP system, Government and industry food safety responsibilities were crystal clear. Industry was accountable for producing safe food. Government was responsible for setting appropriate food safety standards, maintaining oversight, and operating a strong enforcement program to deal with plants that did not meet regulatory standards.

To ensure that USDA inspectors, plant operators, and employees were intimately familiar with their roles and duties under the new system, USDA launched a massive education campaign. For example, FSIS conducted almost 200 HACCP workshops, attracting some 4,000 plant employees. Thousands of HACCP videotapes, software, workbooks, process control information, and other materials were distributed in multiple languages. FSIS's Technical Service Center in Omaha set up a HACCP hotline to answer regulatory questions. Five land-grant universities across the country worked with USDA to set up model HACCP plants, which were opened to industry and used to demonstrate the new approach.

After large plants successfully implemented HACCP, FSIS linked some of those plants as mentors for smaller plants. In June 1998, the agency established the Office of the HACCP National Coordinator to build and maintain an infrastructure for providing information, technical guidance, and assistance to plants. It also set up a network of coordinators across the country to respond to requests for additional training and assistance.

HACCP Success

The end result was success. After the last phase of implementation, a study revealed that more than 92 percent of plants were up and running under the new system on time. FSIS worked closely with those who struggled to meet the higher standard. Of the more than 8,000 plants under HACCP, only a handful decided to close rather than take the actions necessary to meet the higher bar for safety.

Another indication of HACCP's success was the significant decrease in the prevalence of *Salmonella* in raw meat and poultry products. *Salmonella* was chosen as a performance standard

for HACCP because it is a strong indicator of other pathogens and because an inability to control *Salmonella* levels is unsanitary. Baseline data on the prevalence of *Salmonella* was collected pre-HACCP, and a performance standard was established for where the plants should be post-HACCP.

In the fall of 2000—just 9 months after the last plants joined the program—Secretary Glickman released data showing significant reductions in the prevalence of *Salmonella* for the year ending June 30, 2000. *Salmonella* prevalence in broilers declined more than 50 percent, from 20 percent to 9.9 percent. Prevalence in hogs dropped from 8.7 percent to 7.7 percent. In cows and bulls, prevalence fell from 2.7 percent to 1.6 percent, and in steers and heifers, from 1.0 percent to 0.2 percent. In ground beef, the decrease was from 7.5 percent to 5.0 percent, and in ground turkey, from 49.9 percent to 30 percent. During that same period, the data showed that the percentage of plants meeting the HACCP performance standard was high: 92 percent for broilers, 82 percent for hogs and ground turkey, 84 percent for cows and bulls, 87 percent for ground beef, and 100 percent for steers and heifers. In total, 88 percent of large and small plants met the standard.

The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) also provided evidence of HACCP's immediate success. Its data released on March 11, 1999, showed a marked decline in *Salmonella* and *Campylobacter* infections, two of the most common causes of foodborne illness in the United States. The findings showed a 13 percent decline in *Salmonella* infections over the previous 2-year period, a 44 percent drop in the incidence of *Salmonella* enteritidis (associated with egg contamination), and a 15 percent reduction in the number of illnesses caused by *Campylobacter*, the most common bacterial foodborne pathogen in the U.S. CDC officials credited HACCP as a significant contributor to the reductions.

Thanks to the Clinton Administration's commitment to food safety reforms, the United States overcame nearly a century of inaction in modernizing the way the Federal Government ensures the safety of meat and poultry. In bringing meat and poultry inspections into the 21st century, USDA also proved HACCP's detractors wrong: a modern, science and prevention-based system was needed to address emerging problems like *E. coli* 0157:H7; industry could survive the transition—and indeed could prosper with renewed consumer confidence in the safety of U.S. meat and poultry products. Most important, the Administration ensured one of its most enduring legacies would be a lasting and meaningful contribution to the Nation's public health.

Science, Risk Assessment, Surveillance and Testing

Inherent in the HACCP approach is the explicit understanding that science should guide modern food safety systems. Basing food safety decisions on science provides greater consumer confidence in food safety, separates fact from rhetoric (particularly in trade disputes), and—most importantly—best protects public health. Some areas in which science plays an important role in the U.S. system are risk assessment, surveillance, and testing. For HACCP to work at a high level, scientific information is needed to understand the nature and level of foodborne pathogen risks, to be able to identify and connect related foodborne illnesses, and to test for pathogens undetectable by human senses.

Taking risk assessment as an example, the President's Food Safety Initiative provided for creation of the Interagency Risk Assessment Consortium, which advises all Federal agencies with risk management responsibilities for food safety on advancing the science of microbial risk assessment. Through the Consortium, scientific risk assessments have been undertaken for a range of dangerous pathogens to help determine where and how Federal resources should be directed.

Another great example of using technology to improve food safety and protect the public health is FoodNet. Created by the Clinton Administration, FoodNet provides active surveillance for diseases caused by foodborne pathogens. This surveillance offers public health officials across the country prompt access to information that can help them identify causes of foodborne illnesses and link illnesses to each other and to potential sources. Quickly identifying an outbreak and its sources is critical to preventing the spread of food poisoning. FoodNet's baseline data in subsequent years will be used to document the effectiveness of USDA's PR/HACCP efforts in reducing foodborne disease.

The Costs of Foodborne Illness

When people think of vital food safety research, typically they think first about the significant breakthroughs that directly improve public health. While this was a key priority for the Clinton Administration, another key research project proved just how valuable good, solid economics can be to overcoming the hurdles of food safety politics. As the Clinton Administration pressed for a fundamental overhaul of the Nation's meat and poultry inspections, opponents argued that the reforms would be economically devastating. USDA economists found otherwise. They estimated the annual costs of foodborne diseases to be between \$5.6 to 9.4 billion. These estimates also revealed that the true economic burden was \$76 million to \$89 million per year to implement over the first 4 years and \$100 million to \$120 million per year to maintain HACCP systems, or slightly more than one-tenth of a cent per pound. USDA economists also provided estimates of the expected benefits of HACCP, finding the savings in medical costs and productivity losses of \$1 to \$3.7 billion per year or over 20 years to be as much as \$172 billion--far in excess of the costs to carry out the reforms. Besides fueling support for HACCP, the USDA analysis also was critical to securing millions of dollars in new funding for food safety research, education, and enforcement activities. By demonstrating that improving the safety of the Nation's food supply would save billions of dollars annually in medical costs, lost productivity and saved lives, USDA economists demonstrated once again that the Clinton Administration's strong support of USDA research offers a tremendously high return on investment to the American taxpayer.

The Clinton Administration also created PulseNet, a multi-agency, national computer system of public health laboratories that helps to identify and stop episodes of foodborne illness. The PulseNet laboratories perform DNA fingerprinting on bacteria to permit rapid comparisons of the patterns through an electronic database at the Center for Disease Control and Prevention. PulseNet is an early warning system that links seemingly sporadic human illnesses so that more outbreaks can be recognized. PulseNet is especially effective given the nature of modern food production systems that are capable of producing millions of pounds of product and shipping it within a matter of days across the country. Without PulseNet, identifying an outbreak across a wide geographic area would be far more difficult and time-consuming. In fact, PulseNet proved integral in linking the many illnesses and deaths that occurred in 1998-1999 due to a *Listeria* outbreak across the country. Thanks to the database, investigators were able to trace the products back to a Sara Lee plant (Bil-Mar) in Michigan.

As part of the Clinton Administration's commitment to address a variety of pathogens linked to foodborne illness, USDA intensified its efforts to identify and measure certain bacterial risks to human health. For example, in 1999, *Campylobacter* testing of raw chicken carcasses began. The data will be used to assess the need for an industry performance standard for *Campylobacter*. In 2000, FSIS continued monitoring for the presence of *Listeria* and *Salmonella* in cooked, ready-to-eat meat and poultry products and for *E. coli* 0157:H7 in cooked meat patties. Armed with scientific information, future policy makers will be able to carry on the vital work of improving the Nation's food safety.

Expanding the Concept of HACCP

The success of USDA efforts to modernize meat and poultry inspections led FSIS in October of 1999 to launch a project designed to explore whether HACCP could be extended to further improve food safety. Under this banner, the agency designed a HACCP inspection model for slaughter plants, in an effort to extend the principles of science-based prevention of contamination beyond the processing stage, so it could benefit the prior link in the farm-to-table chain. The effort was called the HACCP-based Inspection Models Project (HIMP), and some 30 plants that slaughter healthy, uniform, young chickens, turkeys, and swine volunteered to participate. The initial data collection, released in July 2000 by Research Triangle Institute, an independent consulting firm, showed a *Salmonella* prevalence reduction from 6.1 percent pre-HIMP to 5.5 percent, post-HIMP. The national *Salmonella* performance standard was 20 percent. The data collection also showed reductions of from 9 percent to 100 percent in carcass defects.

Threats to HACCP and HIMP

The American Federation of Government Employees threatened HIMP's future in April of 1998 when it filed suit in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia on behalf of the group's more than 5,000 member-inspectors. The suit challenged the pilot program's test of new inspection methods, claiming the changes compromised food safety. Under the pilot program, establishment employees would sort acceptable from unacceptable products under Federal inspector oversight.

The plaintiffs alleged that the pilot violated the Federal Meat Inspection and Poultry Products Acts because Federal inspectors were not conducting a post-mortem inspection of the carcasses of all livestock and birds processed for human consumption. The District Court granted summary judgment for the Government, but the union appealed. In a unanimous June 30, 2000 opinion, the Court of Appeals reversed the lower court's decision, holding that the pilot program violated Federal laws because Federal inspectors were not making the critical determination whether each carcass was adulterated or not.

In September 2000, FSIS substantially modified the pilot program to place a Federal inspector at a fixed position on the production line to determine whether each carcass is adulterated or not. AFGE challenged the modification, claiming that the agency continued to violate Federal laws. A court decision was still pending in late 2000.

During this legal dispute, two "public interest" organizations—the Government Accountability Project and Public Citizen—bought into the union's allegation that HACCP and HIMP compromised food safety. They attacked USDA by publicizing general in-plant observations they had collected from a small number of union inspectors. Many in the media concluded that the union was using the two organizations to advance its labor objectives and that the organizations' own motivation was support for a minor political party which had a candidate in the 2000 presidential election. Most consumer groups and industry indicated support for HACCP and HIMP during this episode.

Few individual regulated companies challenged the movement toward a HACCP system. One major exception was Supreme Beef Processors, a Texas-based company with a meat-grinding plant in Dallas, which on November 30, 1999 filed a lawsuit in U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Texas.

The suit sought to enjoin USDA from suspending inspection services after Supreme failed the *Salmonella* performance standard for the third consecutive time. Under the PR/HACCP rule, three consecutive failures result in the suspension of inspection services (which effectively shuts down a plant's operations). Following issuance of a temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction prohibiting USDA from taking action, the court on May 25, 2000 held that USDA exceeded its statutory authority in issuing and seeking to enforce the *Salmonella* standard. The court found that meat is adulterated only when USDA finds that the conditions of the establishment are unsanitary, but that it cannot use the identification of *Salmonella* on the end product as sole evidence of unsanitary conditions. USDA appealed the decision on September 9, 2000 to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth District.

Changes to the Workforce

HACCP and other factors, including a seemingly more violent society, dramatically impacted the FSIS workforce in the late 1990s. A tragic incident occurred in June 2000 when the owner of a small sausage-manufacturing operation in California allegedly shot and killed two FSIS compliance officers and a State of California inspector when they visited the business to determine if it was in compliance with Federal and State laws. USDA held memorial services in

both the Oakland area and at USDA headquarters in Washington, where an American Linden tree and plaque bearing the names of Jean Hillery and Tom Quadros, the slain USDA employees, were dedicated at the corner of 14th Street and Jefferson Drive.

The murders of the two compliance officers led FSIS to focus on workplace violence to a greater degree. The agency had already developed materials and a strategy to neutralize problems associated with troubled employees and conflicts between employees. But, following the killings, FSIS also set up a Workplace Violence Prevention Task Force to develop a set of recommendations. To complement that effort, the Office of the Under Secretary for Food Safety entered into a cooperative agreement with the Milbank Memorial Fund under which workplace violence experts will begin a dialogue with labor and employee groups, industry and consumer organizations, and agency leaders to find ways to improve the quality of the workplace environment.

The arrival of HACCP in the late 1990s positioned FSIS to begin reshaping its workforce to meet future demands. In reducing its reliance on sensory inspection and shifting to a prevention-oriented inspection system, FSIS knew that it would need to introduce more frontline personnel with scientific and technical expertise, and it foresaw the necessity of greater flexibility in the deployment of personnel in a HACCP environment. In 1999, FSIS began developing in-distribution inspection models under which it would redeploy some inspectors who were assigned in-plant to begin verifying the safety and wholesomeness of meat and poultry products after they leave the plant. The concept of introducing "consumer safety officers" into the workforce to handle technical and professional duties was introduced in the late 1990s, as was a redefining of future roles of agency veterinary medical officers.

No plans were introduced to alter the size of the workforce. In fact, inspector shortages in some areas of the country in 1999 prompted the agency to intensify recruitment efforts. The drive's goal was realized in June of 1999 when FSIS reached its inspector ceiling of more than 7,600 – enough to staff all of the Nation's plants, including some in extremely rural areas. In 1999, FSIS also created a Workforce of the Future Steering Committee to address many of the issues anticipated as part of the workforce changes.

Recalls

The number of industry recalls began to climb in 1998. This increase was due in large part to the *E. coli* 0157:H7 testing, an increase in the sample size tested, the introduction of a more sensitive test, and the *Listeria monocytogenes* testing in ready-to-eat product. In 1996 and 1997, a combined 52 recalls occurred. In 1998, the number was 44, and in 1999 it climbed to 62. The trend continued in 2000 when the number of recalls surpassed the 1999 high in the ninth month of the year. The number of recalls occurring in a given year is a poor indicator of food safety. And in fact, during this same time period, the Centers for Disease Control released data showing a decrease in illness.

The Hudson Beef case, with its massive multimillion pound recall and worldwide public attention, spurred the agency to launch a review of its recall policy. The study, completed in 1999, resulted in many proposed changes. It also led to a February 2000 decision to begin issuing press releases for all recalls. Previously, the agency only publicized certain classes of recalls that posed certain public health risks. Consumer groups, Secretary Glickman, and others agreed that the old policy fostered the perception that regulators were shielding the regulated industry and thwarting the public's right to know.

The old policy attracted considerable attention in 1998 and 1999 when the Bil-Mar plant in Michigan voluntarily recalled hundreds of thousands of pounds of products that were believed to have caused more than 20 deaths and sickened another 100-plus people due to *Listeria*. The controversy, which included heavy public criticism of USDA, occurred after FSIS investigators were unable to link the pathogen to the plant's products. Although other public health agencies and the plant issued public warnings, FSIS lacked the legal evidence to request a recall. The press release policy adopted in 2000 also encouraged the agency to issue precautionary public warnings when faced with extraordinary public health events.

The Food Quality Protection Act

In August of 1996, President Clinton signed the Food Quality Protection Act into law. This law had unanimous bipartisan support and represented the first major reform of pesticide law in decades. The Act raised the standard of safety for pesticides and established a rigorous timetable for the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to review all existing pesticides under that new safety standard. The Act also placed new demands on USDA to provide high quality data to EPA and to respond to the concerns of farmers and ranchers. In September of 1997, Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger announced the creation of the Office of Pest Management Policy within USDA's Agricultural Research Service to lead the Department's efforts to provide a strong response to the demands of the new law. The Office works to ensure that regulatory decisions are based on sound science, made with the involvement of the agricultural sector, and allow an adequate transition to new, safer pest management systems.

Partnerships

President Clinton's Food Safety Initiative

In his second term, President Clinton turned his focus to a new initiative. In January 1997, he asked U.S. food safety agencies to produce a report identifying gaps in the U.S. food safety system and recommending ways to close them. His vision was to create one seamless system for food safety that marshals and focuses all the different resources throughout the Federal Government and delivers one high standard of food safety to the American people.

The report, *Food Safety From Farm to Table: A National Food Safety Initiative*, signaled the beginning of increased cooperation between the various Federal food safety agencies and—over the final 4 years of the Clinton Administration—an increase of \$1.5 billion in funding for food

safety-related activities. The report recognized foodborne illness as an emerging public health hazard that required aggressive and more coordinated Government action.

The resulting President's Food Safety Initiative improved coordination among the various Government agencies. It also looked beyond "quick fixes" and instructed U.S. food safety agencies to develop a 5-year national food safety strategic plan to address specific and growing concerns.

As recommended in the Initiative, Federal and state agencies teamed up to form the Foodborne Outbreak Response Coordinating Group. This collaborative effort was designed to increase coordination among Federal, state, and local food safety and public health agencies; guide efficient use of resources and expertise during an outbreak; and prepare for new and emerging threats to the U.S. food supply.

Initiative resources in 1998 were used to enhance surveillance of foodborne disease and outbreaks and better coordinate outbreak response, improve inspections and compliance, target important new research and risk assessment to critical scientific gaps, and strengthen education and training, especially for those who handle food at critical points from the retail setting to the home.

The 1999 initiative placed increased emphasis on ensuring the safety of fresh produce and imported foods; targeted retail food safety education; provided funds to assist with the transition from traditional meat and poultry inspection systems to science-based HACCP systems; and developed scientific information and tools to control a greater range of food safety hazards.

In 2000, the Administration targeted Initiative funds toward controlling foodborne hazards in the preharvest phase; increasing the speed and efficiency of outbreak responses, and further developing a nationally integrated, seamless, and science-based food safety system. For example, the 2000 Initiative specifically increased investment in food safety research in such areas as animal production practices and manure management; surface runoff causing pathogen contamination of crops and animals, improved contamination detection methods, and prevention of the development of antibiotic drug resistance.

On October 28, 2000, the President signed the FY01 Appropriations Act, praising the fact that the legislation fully funded the latest round of his Food Safety Initiative, directing resources to increased surveillance, inspection of domestic and imported food, response to outbreaks, and "vital research."

President Clinton's Council on Food Safety

As a vehicle to accomplish many of the recommendations presented in the Food Safety Initiative, the President in August 1998 created a Council on Food Safety. Secretary Glickman, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, and Neal Lane, the President's science advisor, served as co-chairs. Other representation on the Council included the Department of Commerce,

Environmental Protection Agency, Office of Management and Budget, Partnership for Reinventing Government, and Domestic Policy Council.

In addition to painstaking work on the strategic plan and budget, the Council and agency principals in March 1999 responded formally to a critical assessment of the Nation's food safety system that was put forward in 1998 by the National Academy of Sciences. The report, *Ensuring Safe Food: From Production to Consumption*, made numerous recommendations for improving the food safety system. In its response, the Council generally agreed with the report's findings and set about addressing specific points. In essence, creation of the Council was the Administration's chief response to the NAS report.

Shortly after its formation, the Council undertook responses to two critical food safety issues of increasing concern in the public health community due to a rising level of illnesses caused by the pathogens: *Salmonella enteritidis* contamination in eggs and *Listeria monocytogenes* contamination in ready-to-eat products. As a result, in late 1999, food safety agencies developed an Egg Safety Action Plan designed to eventually eliminate *Salmonella* in eggs. Later, in 2000, the President announced plans to address *Listeria*, a bacteria particularly dangerous for vulnerable populations of consumers.

Food Safety Research

The President's Food Safety Initiative almost doubled the funding for food safety research, and there were many examples in the late 1990s indicating that food safety research was paying off. For example, in January of 1999, USDA scientists announced development of a technique to rapidly detect a potentially deadly strain of *Salmonella* bacteria that resists many antibiotics. In July of 1998, a USDA Agricultural Research Service scientist reported the development of a rapid, easy-to-use test that detected *E. coli* bacteria in food products, and FSIS began using the method. The test works on hamburger meat and is 10 to 100 times more sensitive than other tests. In March 1998, USDA announced development of a product that dramatically reduces the level of *Salmonella* in broiler chickens. In field tests, the product reduced *Salmonella* from 7 percent in untreated chickens to 0 percent in treated chickens.

Growing out of the President's Food Safety Initiative was the creation of a Joint Institute for Food Safety Research to coordinate research efforts. This was important because it gave Federal agencies a coordinating body to more effectively match the needs of regulatory agencies with the priorities of research agencies. Since FSIS is dependent on outside research, this coordination is vital.

Aside from research efforts wholly or partly funded under the President's Food Safety Initiative, U.S. food safety agencies in the late 1990's opened more doors to technology that could be used to eliminate dangerous pathogens on meat, poultry, and egg products. One example is FSIS's announcement in December of 1999 that irradiation would be permitted to treat frozen or refrigerated, uncooked meat, meat by-products and certain other meat food products to

reduce levels of foodborne pathogens and to extend shelf life. In moving ahead with an expansion of irradiation to meat products, USDA demonstrated its resolve to provide industry with yet another tool to ensure food safety. It did so fully aware of some consumer concerns over this type of "pasteurization," but confident that the process is safe.

Brown Burgers: A Gray Area for Safety

Most conscientious backyard grillers know the importance of a well-cooked burger to the safety of their meals. Unfortunately, many subscribe to the folk wisdom that a burger is safely cooked when it's brown in the middle. USDA researchers conducted a scientific evaluation to investigate the truth of the convention wisdom. The study provided solid evidence that a cooked burger's color is not a reliable indicator of internal patty temperature. Simply put, brown burgers offer no guarantee of safety. The results were a major factor in the development of a massive FSIS consumer education campaign encouraging the use of meat thermometers to verify that burgers are cooked to a temperature capable of killing off any harmful bacteria.

Food Safety Education

The Administration recognized that a true farm-to-table food safety strategy needed to focus heavily on consumers understanding that they share with industry and Government the responsibility of making certain that food is safe. Therefore, President Clinton's USDA placed increased emphasis on getting consumer-friendly food safety information out to the general public. For example, under the auspices of the Food Safety Initiative, USDA helped create the Partnership for Food Safety Education, a coalition of industry, Government, and consumer groups dedicated to reducing food-related illnesses through consumer education. On October 24, 1997, the Partnership introduced its "FightBAC!" campaign designed to increase awareness of the dangers of foodborne bacteria.

In addition to the FightBAC! education campaign, USDA in 2000 introduced "Thermy," a cartoon-like character who spreads – through written materials and in costume at food safety events – a message about the importance of using thermometers to ensure that meat, poultry, and egg products are cooked to the proper temperature in order to destroy harmful bacteria. USDA also in March of 1997 released "Keeping Kids Safe," a childcare food safety publication. The publication, along with food safety coloring books, was distributed to 82,000 day care centers nationwide.

All told, FSIS distributed tens of thousands of educational materials to the public and media and participated in hundreds of food safety consumer education events. Perhaps typical was the agency's 1999 effort to educate consumers, particularly vulnerable populations including pregnant women, senior citizens, and those with weakened immune systems, on the dangers of *Listeria*. In this regard, the agency took its campaign not only to the media but also to health care providers most likely to be communicating with this at-risk population.

Clearly, the commitment to strong consumer education efforts came from the top. In 1998, Vice President Gore manned the grill outside of USDA headquarters. As he participated in a safe grilling demonstration, he told the assembled crowd that "consumers need to be aware of foodborne risks while preparing food for their families, even around the friendly, seemingly safe environment of the backyard grill. Government is doing all it can to protect the food supply from dangerous microscopic pathogens, but it needs help from those who actually prepare meals in the home."

Emerging Issues

Facing a New Threat: Bioterrorism

As USDA pursued the Clinton Administration's mandate that Federal agencies work more closely together to ensure the safety of America's food, Secretary Glickman established in 1998 the Food Emergency Rapid Response and Evaluation Team (FERRET). This team coordinates investigation of food problems that cross agency lines within USDA--for example, the contamination of food inspected by FSIS and served in USDA's school lunch program. But as FERRET members found in 1998, its work can reach beyond traditional food safety issues and into suspected acts of terrorism. Such was the case when FERRET helped determine the risks associated with an unsubstantiated threat to contaminate products at a Wisconsin meat plant with HIV-contaminated blood. This was the first recorded case of a potential act of terrorism to the U.S. food supply addressed by the Department.

Particularly leading up to the year 2000 calendar change, interagency teamwork took on a whole new sense of urgency, as speculation mounted over the vulnerability of the country's food supply to acts of terrorism. At Secretary Glickman's request, Under Secretary Woteki and Deputy Under Secretary Caren Wilcox led the Food Supply Working Group, one of three dozen groups formed by President Clinton to address various aspects of the "Y2K" challenge. The interagency group worked for more than 18 months to educate all industry parties about threats--ranging from terrorism to computer glitches--and potential safeguards. Fortunately, only a few minor electronic disruptions were reported and no acts of terrorism.

Beyond a successful transition to a new millennium, it was increasingly clear that the U.S. Government needed to take strong precautions against potential terrorist attacks against the food supply. Due to the inherent openness (i.e., vulnerability) of agricultural products, defense experts concluded that the risk of bioterrorism was real. So in June 1999, Secretary Glickman created the USDA Counterterrorism Policy Council. USDA also began leading an agriculture counter-terrorism committee in the National Security Council and serving on an interagency intelligence working group with the CIA and FBI, in order to clarify the extent of bioterrorism threats to agriculture and expand awareness of those threats among Federal agencies.

In February of 1999, the National Association of State Departments of Agriculture and public health officials participated in the first Federal/state exercise regarding possible deliberate contamination of animal meat. In August of 1999, USDA worked with the Department of Defense to conduct a multi-agency exercise involving a Federal response to a hypothetical act of deliberate biological contamination of food. In March 2000, FSIS provided joint training in bio-terrorism response to its epidemiology and enforcement officers. The agency also established a Health Hazard Evaluation Board whose responsibilities include determining whether or not an incident of contamination is deliberate. And, it set up a Bioterrorism Response Team to review threats to meat, poultry, and eggs. All these activities were

the result of the Administration's realization that the Government needed to be prepared for terrorists who might use the U.S. food supply to endanger the U.S. population.

New Food Safety Challenges

In addition to a heightened awareness of new and emerging threats like bioterrorism, USDA focused on several other emerging food safety issues:

- In late 2000, at the White House's request, USDA helped identify interagency funding necessary for the National Academy of Sciences to study the year 2000 Environmental Protection Agency reassessment of human health risks associated with dioxin in the environment. EPA's study concluded that dioxin was much more of a risk than previously stated and that most of the contamination was being transferred to humans through their consumption of animal fats. Various Government agencies and the White House supported an independent NAS study to explore how to responsibly address the issue.
- Throughout the late 1990s, FSIS helped develop a multi-agency action plan to address the growing issue of antimicrobial resistance. A number of experts identified antimicrobial resistance as a major public health threat. Evidence points to antibiotic use in food animals contributing to increased drug resistance in humans. USDA has long been involved in surveillance and research on this issue. It also joined an interdepartmental Task Force on Antimicrobial Resistance to help develop a public health action plan based on surveillance, research, prevention, control and product development.
- For years, the U.S. Government has worked on measures to prevent the introduction of Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE)--commonly referred to as "mad cow" disease--in this country. BSE, a disease found in cattle and believed to be transmittable to humans, has wrecked agricultural economies and caused dozens of deaths in other countries. Consistent with efforts to keep BSE out of the country was the decision by several USDA agencies in 1998 to work with the Harvard University School of Public Health to conduct a thorough study of BSE to understand every possible entrance pathway and identify ways to adequately protect U.S. cattle and the human food supply. The risk analysis will be delivered to USDA in 2001.

International Activities

During the Clinton/Gore Administration, the issue of food safety assumed a new level of prominence in international meetings and negotiations. Food Safety was discussed at the highest political levels, driven by such initiatives as the creation of the World Trade Organization, the signing of major trade pacts (including the North American Free Trade Agreement), and the continued activism of the G-8 and other international organizations. Many felt that food safety issues were being exploited and wielded as competitive weapons in trade disputes.

A series of controversial audits of the U.S. food safety system conducted by the European Commission as well as a continuing trade dispute brought to the World Trade Organization regarding the safety of U.S. beef added fuel to an already acrimonious relationship. President Clinton and the G-8 leaders took on the issue, discussing food safety at several meetings. Within USDA, FSIS' role in the international arena increased markedly. The most significant catalyst for that change was the 1994 adoption of the Agreement on the Application of Sanitary and Phytosanitary Measures (SPS Agreement), which officially recognized the Codex Alimentarius Commission as an "expert body" for international food safety issues. The SPS Agreement became effective in January of 1995. It required that an importing

country accept as equivalent the food regulatory system of an exporting country, if the exporting country demonstrates that its system achieves the same level of public health protection provided by the importing country. In 1999, FSIS provided the public with the results of its review of foreign country implementation of equivalent Pathogen Reduction and HACCP requirements. The agency determined that all countries exporting meat and poultry to the United States have food safety regulatory systems that provide a level of protection that is equivalent to that provided by the U.S. system. Worldwide this was among the first equivalency programs developed by any regulatory agency.

The recognition of Codex reflected the enormous growth of agricultural trade, which had increased by 800 percent since 1962, the year Codex was established. Codex operates under the auspices of two United Nations groups, the Food and Agriculture Organization and the World Health Organization. In 1996, the position of United States Codex Manager was created. Shortly thereafter, the new Under Secretary for Food Safety formed the interagency U.S. Codex Policy Committee to help establish U.S. positions on international food safety standard issues. Under Secretary Woteki and Deputy Under Secretary Wilcox assumed leadership roles in that inter-agency committee. Guidance by the Steering Committee was critical to the success the United States achieved at the July 1999 session of Codex, in which 160 member nations participated. Achievements included the election of FSIS Administrator Tom Billy as Codex Chair, the adoption of 418 new Codex standards and related texts, the establishment of a task force on biotech foods, and approval of recommendations that enhanced consumer involvement in Codex.

The G-8 leaders devoted a portion of their 1998 and 1999 meetings to food safety issues and discussed the possible creation of an international food safety regulatory agency. These discussions led the G-8 to ask the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development to review international food safety activities. In response, the organization created an Ad Hoc Group on Biotechnology and Other Aspects of Food Safety, which compiled several white papers including one describing the food safety roles of international organizations and characterizing national food safety systems.

Throughout this period, the EC attempted to introduce the so-called "Precautionary Principle" into international discussions. Promulgated by the EC to endorse political management of risk, the "Precautionary Principle" has never been clearly defined. The USG regarded the concept as an internal organizing principle for the EC and its member states. However, the Office of Food Safety, in leading the debate for the United States Government, proposed many clarifying questions to the EC on their meaning of the "Principle," and as part of its discussions in OECD it outlined U.S. uses of precaution as it is deeply embedded in U.S. regulatory statutes. Agreement was reached in Melbourne, Australia in October 1999, that discussions and explanations of the EC proposal for the "Precautionary Principle" would take place in the context of discussions of risk analysis at Codex. Nevertheless, the EC attempted to introduce this concept into the OECD discussions as well.

As national leaders discussed food safety issues, so did consumers and consumer organizations on both sides of the Atlantic. Deputy Under Secretary Wilcox assumed a leading role in the Transatlantic Consumer Dialogue, where she served as co-chair of the Foods Working Group. Comprised of U.S. and European Union consumer groups, and representatives of the U.S. Government and the European Commission, the Dialogue meets annually to discuss issues of importance to consumers. At the 1999 and 2000 meetings, discussion in the Foods Working Group centered around the development of food safety measures; the safety of foods derived from biotechnology; and the benefits of nutrition labeling.

Perhaps the biggest food safety-related trade dispute of the Clinton era had to do with the export of U.S. beef to European markets. In 1989, the Europeans banned the use of growth promotants in animal production. At that time, the European Commission required tests for the presence of the banned hormones in U.S. meat exports. FSIS began certifying that meat products exported to the EU were not treated with growth promoting hormones. U.S. private laboratories also began random testing of this product, but no positives were detected.

The United States pursued formal WTO dispute settlement procedures against the European Union as a result of its ban on imports of hormone-treated beef. In 1998, the WTO Appellate Body found that the ban violated the SPS Agreement because it was not based on scientific principles. When the European Union failed to comply with the WTO ruling, the WTO granted authorization to the United States to suspend tariff concessions on European Union goods with an annual trade value equivalent to annual lost exports of U.S. beef.

In 1999, the European Commission announced that in port-of-entry tests of U.S. meat it had found that up to 20 percent of the product contained substances including growth hormones, which are banned in the European Union. These findings called into question the effectiveness of the U.S. beef industry's testing program. Following the European Commission audits, FSIS temporarily suspended certification of beef exported to the European Union. FSIS then worked with meat exporters and the Agriculture Marketing Service to develop a third-party certification program. FSIS also temporarily moved verification testing from the private laboratories in the United States to a European laboratory. A Canadian laboratory is expected to assume all verification testing in 2001.

Few could have predicted just how prominent food safety would become on the international stage during the Clinton Administration. Nevertheless, USDA responded in international organizations, worked with other countries, and worked with the U.S. agriculture industry to put forward scientifically based positions to protect public health in the United States and around the world, and to ensure the fair treatment of U.S. food and fiber products in the global marketplace.

Conclusion

More than any other Administration before it, the Clinton-Gore team left a legacy rich in food safety achievements. Arriving at the White House at a time when consumers, Congress, and Federal food safety agencies were scrambling to deal with the devastating effects on human health of dangerous emerging pathogens, the Administration helped identify food safety problems and science-based solutions that make today's American food supply one of the safest in the world.

4. "We Will Have a New Day" *The Civil Rights Movement at USDA*

"Building One America is our most important mission.... Money cannot buy it. Power cannot compel it. Technology cannot create it. It can only come from the human spirit."

President Clinton
1997 State of the Union Address

'The further I've waded into issues of civil rights and agriculture, the more I've felt the weight ... of age old national wounds that have yet to properly heal—the ugly scars of racial fear and suspicion that are the legacy of slavery. Agriculture played a seminal role in that history. America fought its civil war over the right Southern plantation owners asserted to enslave men, women, and children to work in their fields. Today, the continuing struggle of Black farmers—30 years after our civil rights movement—reminds us just how far our Nation has yet to go to turn civil rights into civil realities.'

Dan Glickman
To the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
July 15, 1998

When President Clinton took up the rallying cry of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., calling on the Nation to work toward racial healing and build "one America," he was largely met with a wave of cynicism from both sides of the civil rights divide. In the decades since the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the American people had grown all too familiar with lofty words and little action from their politicians on this sensitive issue. Yet one need only walk a few short blocks from the White House to find a powerful example of a concrete transformation of civil rights ideals into action that was the direct result and one of the most enduring and meaningful legacies of the Clinton Administration.

A Challenge 2 Centuries in the Making

It is hard in a few paragraphs to unravel all of the threads that explain why civil rights presented such a powder keg of a problem at USDA. But one story reflects the depth and level of mistrust that had built up over more than a century, particularly among African-American farmers. One senior USDA official in the Clinton Administration displayed on the wall of his office a deed to land his African-American grandfather had bought in North Carolina for 12 cents an acre in the 1880s. His family held onto this land through the Great Depression and many other hard times. This is no small miracle given the strict instructions passed from one generation to the next: never owe money to the Government; never owe money to a bank. "You can't trust those institutions," his grandfather warned him. "If you let them take a mortgage on your land, then you're going to lose it."

Glickman explained the genesis for the mistrust this way in an opinion piece in *The Washington Post* in 1998,

"The big plantations of the South were the No. 1 market for slaves in America. After Reconstruction, many freed slaves stayed in the South working the land. In fact, most African-Americans did not move to the cities until they were pushed off their farmland by bigotry: white bankers often denying credit, white neighbors sometimes refusing to sell land, and an Agriculture Department that reflected our Nation's misgivings on race and too often relegated justice to the backwaters."

In many ways, USDA reflected the civil rights divide of the Nation, particularly in the turbulent years of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s. And the issue didn't stop with USDA customers. Employees, too, had been subject to separate and unequal treatment. In fact, two of the Department's highest-ranking officials in the Clinton Administration started their careers at USDA with the job title of "county Negro extension agent." USDA was one of the last Federal departments to integrate. In the mid-1960s, the Department's headquarters in Washington, DC, still had separate bathrooms and cafeterias. And, farm programs were delivered according to local social norms. In the South, this meant Black employees worked in Black communities and white employees worked in white communities.

The Turning Point

A turning point in USDA's relationship with Black farmers began on December 12, 1996. On this day, a group of Black farmers demonstrating outside the White House called on President Clinton to ensure fair treatment in agricultural lending programs for minority farmers. Their allegations of discrimination were not new. For several decades, African-American and other minority farmers and ranchers frequently complained of discrimination at the hands of USDA officials. A series of reports by Congress, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and USDA agencies substantiated their allegations, yet USDA for decades did nothing.

During this same time period USDA employees--women, minorities, and people with disabilities--charged that they were denied equal employment opportunities. They wrote letters, held press conferences, and filed individual complaints and class action lawsuits. Yet reports validating the employee concerns, like those of the farmers, sat on the shelves and gathered dust.

The very same day as the White House protests, Secretary Glickman made clear that a new day was dawning at USDA. He vowed that the Department would make a decisive break with the past and confront one of its most obstinate problems. He tapped respected veteran USDA conservationist Pearlle Reed to lead a "Civil Rights Action Team" that would fan out across the country; listen to employees, farmers, and other USDA customers; and recommend sweeping changes throughout the Department not only to get USDA out from under its civil rights woes, but also to transform the Department into a Federal civil rights leader.

During FY 2000, the Department received and accepted 634 new program discrimination complaints. This number was down dramatically from the 1,261 received during FY 1999. This was only the beginning. As Glickman stirred up this hornet's nest of an issue and entered some of the most turbulent years of his career, he frequently turned to the words of the poet Dante to spur on the Department's efforts: "the hottest places in Hell are reserved for those who, in times of great moral crises, maintain their neutrality."

When President Lincoln created USDA, he called it the "people's department." The minority farmers who protested outside the White House, several of whom had lost their land because of USDA-prompted foreclosures, had another name for the Department. They called it "the last plantation." Following the demonstration, the farmers filed suit in Federal court against Secretary Glickman in an attempt to halt farm foreclosures they felt were being used to drive African-American farmers off their land. They also sought restitution for financial ruin caused by alleged discrimination in USDA farm loan programs.

History will look on these farmers as civil rights heroes. For many years, they toiled on this issue far from the national spotlight. Historically, their claims had been largely ignored by USDA and even, for many years, by national civil rights organizations.

All of that would change 5 days after the White House protests of 1996, when the very gates outside of which the farmers protested swung open, and the farmers gained an audience with the President of the United States. What came out in this meeting, which also included Vice President Gore and Secretary Glickman, were heart-wrenching stories of farms lost, marriages broken, and families left in poverty—all due to alleged USDA discrimination and unequal treatment. The problem, the farmers claimed, was widespread. The statistics backed them up. In the late 1990s, Black-owned farms were disappearing at three times the rate of farms generally. Clinton, Gore, and Glickman all left the meeting determined to right these wrongs. In fact, the very next day Glickman ordered an immediate halt to all USDA farm foreclosures until an independent review of any discrimination claims was conducted.

The Department of Agriculture would never be the same.

USDA Leaders Listen and Learn

In the wake of the meeting, Reed and his Civil Rights Action Team got to work. The team was comprised of 15 senior USDA officials from throughout the Department. Eight of the members, including Reed, were African Americans, five were white, one was Hispanic, and one was Asian American. Three were women. A key to the success of the committee was its 19-person executive support group. Another key was what Reed called a "consensus" model. He explained it this way: "We will operate by consensus, but if we can't arrive at a consensus, I will decide."

The team held 12 listening sessions around the Nation and heard testimony from more than 300 employees and customers⁷. Secretary Glickman or Deputy Secretary Rominger attended all but one of the sessions. The team was told over and over, by farmers and employees, that managers at USDA operated in a system that did not hold them accountable for discrimination.

Black and white farmers who were small farmers in the Mississippi Delta charged that some USDA officials denied them service and even courtesy and respect, while they gave farmers with large holdings service and loans. A white female farmer said that the "single largest problem for women is to be taken seriously by the financial community," including those who ran USDA farm loans. Hispanic, Asian American, and American Indian farmers in Texas, California, and Oklahoma told stories with a common theme: USDA has done more to hurt than to help small and minority farmers.

⁷Excerpts from the listening sessions are captured in a 12-minute videotape, "CRAT Report—a Video Montage," February 1997, and in "Civil Rights at the United States Department of Agriculture – A Report by The Civil Rights Action Team," February 1997.

Many farmers complained about the regulations and cumbersome paperwork required for USDA credit programs, which they considered to be the equivalent of a brick wall to small farmers. They also described a county committee system that too often shut out minorities. Speakers said research and extension efforts did not adequately address the unique needs of small, limited-resource, and minority producers; also, separate and unequal USDA funding to historically Black land-grant colleges and universities and predominately white land-grant institutions only exacerbated the problem.

Several farmers harshly criticized USDA's Office of the General Counsel. Their perception was that USDA attorneys prevented the Department from compensating farmers who were discriminated against. The lack of diversity among the Office's senior staff further fueled the sense that the Office lacked sensitivity to--and was even hostile toward--civil rights.

At the listening sessions, USDA employees told of managers who used "intimidation, fear, threats, and retaliation" when employees complained of discrimination. Abusive managers, they said, were often rewarded with promotions and awards rather than held accountable. Several claimed that when confronted by complaints, many top agency officials adopted an attitude of "defending the troops" rather than resolving complaints. Most who believed they had been discriminated against also felt that their managers lacked the skills and training necessary to lead a diverse workforce.

In addition to holding the 12 listening sessions, USDA's Civil Rights Action Team reviewed all of the major past Department civil rights studies, reports, and actions of the prior 30 years and included many of the recommendations that had earlier gathered dust. The team noted that in recent years every Secretary of Agriculture had said improving civil rights was a priority. However funding was cut, and the Reagan Administration went so far as to dismantle USDA's civil rights program in 1983, leaving the complaints to drift for years.

The Civil Rights Action Team concluded, as many others had suggested, that with few exceptions, senior managers at the Department had not invested the time, effort, energy, and resources needed to produce fundamental change. As a result, there was little civil rights accountability, and managers and supervisors who abused their power were largely free to do so without fear of consequences. Even when discrimination was found to have occurred, appropriate disciplinary action was seldom taken.

On February 28, 1997, Secretary Glickman received the civil rights report. He promised that the plan would not gather dust, but rather moved immediately into implementation. Speaking from USDA headquarters, Glickman spoke to all USDA employees, including those in offices across the country who were hooked up via satellite. "Our actions today are meant to address both the problems and the perceptions that are out there," Glickman said. "That starts by admitting that for far too long, USDA has been seen as ignoring serious, pervasive problems with our civil rights systems ... I'm not here to point fingers, to cast blame, or to add any fuel to the fire. I'm here simply to say, it is time to heal. We cannot change the past, but we can and will set a new course for the future of this Department."

The report was candid and reflected disturbing perceptions based on listening sessions and data from numerous reports. Secretary Glickman considered the report a rare and historic opportunity to change the culture of the Department of Agriculture. That very day, he created a new and unequivocal USDA civil rights policy: "It is now a condition of employment at the United States Department of Agriculture that every employee treat every customer and coworker fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect."

Espy's Groundwork

The Civil Rights Action Team recognized that USDA had been laying the groundwork for a major civil rights initiative since the beginning of the Clinton-Gore Administration. As the first African-American Secretary of Agriculture, Mike Espy was committed to expanding equity and fairness.

Espy had the full support of the White House as he set out to tackle the issue of civil rights. In fact, President Clinton's July 19, 1995, memorandum to all Executive Departments and Agencies made clear that the Clinton-Gore Administration would "support affirmative measures that promote opportunities in employment, education, and Government contracting for Americans subject to discrimination or its continuing effects." The President's statement emphasized the continuing commitment to take affirmative measures to eradicate the effects of discrimination in conformance with the Supreme Court's decision in *Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, which some had used to stall affirmative action efforts in USDA.

On April 18, 1994, the Department of Agriculture received an opinion from Walter Dellinger, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel at the Justice Department, concluding that USDA could pay damages to customers who had been discriminated against in USDA-conducted programs under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act.

In accordance with an Administration-wide Initiative, Espy also expanded USDA's civil rights policy in April 1993, to include barring discrimination against employees on the basis of sexual orientation. He also established a Blue Ribbon Task Force on civil rights, which provided several recommendations included in the Civil Rights Action Team's report.

Turning Recommendations Into Results

The Action Team's report recommended a range of steps--92 in total--that centered around four broad concerns: management commitment to civil rights, program delivery and outreach, workforce diversity and employment practices, and the organizational structure of civil rights responsibilities in the Department. Specific recommendations included: giving the Assistant Secretary of Administration full authority over civil rights; stripping county committees of their authority to determine farm loans; appointing a diverse commission to develop a national policy to address the needs of small farms; creating State and National outreach councils; establishing full-time USDA Service Centers on Tribal lands; ensuring all Service Centers are accessible to people with disabilities; addressing the needs of farmworkers; increasing the involvement of small and disadvantaged businesses in USDA programs; holding managers accountable for having a diverse pool of applicants for all job vacancies; consolidating USDA's civil rights functions under one office; and creating a civil rights division within the Office of the General Counsel.

To ensure that the report's recommendations would be transformed into results, the Secretary--on the same day he released the report--named Reed to be chairman of the Action Team, as the Acting Assistant Secretary for Administration. This move solidified Reed's role as the Secretary's day-to-day lieutenant on civil rights. Glickman then ordered the creation of a Civil Rights Implementation Team to carry out the report's recommendations, and he ordered USDA agencies to provide whatever staff and resources necessary to complete the job.

The Implementation Team guided the transformation of the report's recommendations into actions, through activities ranging from setting up action teams and monitoring their progress to drafting Departmental regulations, policies, and procedures. The implementation team consisted of 30 employees from headquarters and the field who were detailed (i.e., loaned) full time to USDA headquarters for the job.

Beginning in April 1997, some 300 employees from all levels throughout USDA began serving on 33 different action teams charged with realizing one or more of the recommendations. Collectively, the teams represented the largest civil rights effort in USDA history. Each team used a systematic problem-solving approach that was tailored to their specific task. Depending on the recommendation, implementation could entail new policies, new organizational units or revamping existing regulations. In other cases, implementation came in the form of legislative or funding proposals. In all, the action teams created more than 90 different policies, regulations, handbooks, and other documents that all served one purpose—helping build a new and improved civil rights environment at USDA.

After months of work to implement the recommendations, much progress had been made to institutionalize the change that USDA's civil rights revolution had brought about. As President Clinton pursued his "one America" initiative, efforts to nurture racial healing in America, and received some ridicule for attempting to address the sensitive issue, Glickman wrote him a memo holding up USDA as a real-world example of how the ideals of inclusiveness and racial harmony can be transformed into concrete progress. "I am increasingly concerned about a growing enemy from an unlikely corner that unites civil rights advocates and opponents alike. That enemy is cynicism," Glickman wrote. "In wading through USDA's problems, I quickly found that there is no substitute for action. We set clear goals. We laid out an aggressive timeline, and we're sticking to it. The result is credibility. From the people who run our agencies to the people who answer the phones, folks clearly see that something real is happening, and they want to be a part of it."

After reviewing the Department's efforts in detail, Glickman closed the memo with these comments: "This is how we are finding some success in changing the culture of the Department of Agriculture. I hope that our experiences may be of some use in healing America's old wounds This President and this Administration are uniquely qualified to rise above mere talk. But if we are to give the American people hope, first and foremost we must give them action." Soon after, when the President gathered his entire Cabinet for a meeting on the "one America" initiative, the "Glickman memo" was one of the very first items included in the briefing book.

Glickman worked closely with the White House and Congress to keep them informed and build support for the fundamental changes he sought. The Secretary testified repeatedly before the Congress, including the House Agriculture Committee and a special hearing of the Congressional Black Caucus, to provide detailed information about the Department's progress. The Secretary routinely emphasized that civil rights was his number one priority in his speeches and writings to USDA employees and stakeholders

At this point, the progress at USDA was attracting national attention. Harvard University's prestigious John F. Kennedy School of Government had a special interest in how civil rights policy is changed in an organization, and it conducted a case study of the USDA effort. The School approached the case from a historic perspective and used it in their seminars for senior executives and as a management tool to be shared with other organizations in both the public and private sector.

In July 1998, Secretary Glickman named as Civil Rights Director an experienced civil rights manager, who had the talent and vision to carry out an effective civil rights strategy for the Department. The Director was a civil rights attorney and senior official at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and had served as general counsel at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Carrying on the civil rights reforms at the Department and fairly resolving a class-action lawsuit brought by African-American farmers were major issues confronting the new director.

While the harsh criticism of the Office of the General Counsel was unwarranted, the Secretary believed it was important to institutionalize change at USDA. One step was the creation of a civil rights division within USDA's Office of the General Counsel. Before this move, the Office did not have any attorneys dedicated full-time to civil rights. This omission was in sharp contrast to other major Federal departments, and was widely criticized. The new division was staffed with attorneys who specialize in civil rights law and are able to provide USDA with the expertise it needs to enforce civil rights laws, rules, and regulations. The escalation of USDA's in-house legal expertise on civil rights matters arrived at a pivotal time.

Making U.S. History in the Courts

A major development in moving USDA's civil right agenda forward was the historic settlement of the consolidated class action brought by African-American farmers nationwide alleging widespread race discrimination in USDA farm programs. For many years prior to the filing of the class actions, several African-American farmers had filed administrative complaints with USDA alleging such discrimination. Many others were thwarted in their attempts to file such complaints.

In 1997, two class actions were filed by farmers in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia--*Pigford v. Glickman* and *Brewington v. Glickman*. After an extended period of discovery and other pretrial matters, the two lawsuits were consolidated into one class action and United States District Judge Paul Friedman certified the lawsuits as a class action. Specifically, the class was defined by Judge Friedman as all African-American farmers who (1) farmed, or attempted to farm, between January 1, 1981, and December 31, 1996, (2) applied to USDA during that time period for participation in a Federal farm credit or benefit program and who believed that they were discriminated against on the basis of race in USDA's response to that application, and (3) filed a discrimination complaint on or before July 1, 1997, regarding USDA's treatment of such farm credit or benefit application.

Not long after the lawsuits were filed and the class was certified, USDA began looking at the possibility of settling the class action. USDA and the Administration recognized that the lawsuit raised legitimate issues regarding whether USDA had discriminated against many African-American farmers and had failed to act in a timely manner on the complaints. The case highlighted the plight of these farmers, as well as the internal problems with both USDA field staff and the processing of civil rights complaints. Thus, USDA and the Administration did not want to just take a purely defensive stance in addressing the class action. Instead, President Clinton's USDA focused on resolving the legitimate claims of class members.

As a result, settlement options were explored by the Department of Justice and USDA. In addition, discussions were held--among the Secretary, the Attorney General and even at times President Clinton--that focused on seeking a resolution. The Secretary made public his desire to reach a fair and equitable settlement. Even after the decision was made to reach some settlement of the case, the parties to the lawsuit struggled to reach a consensus agreeable to all. In addition, because the claims of most of the

class members were barred by the statute of limitations, the Secretary and the Administration advocated legislation that would permit class members to sue despite the fact that the statute of limitations had run out on their claims. Without such legislation, which passed in October 1998, the class members would not have been entitled to any monetary damages.

A Congressional waiver of the statute of limitations is rare in U.S. legal history. In a 1998 opinion piece in *The Washington Post*, Glickman made a strong case for the historic nature of this achievement, likening the victory to Congress' approval in the late 1980s of reparations to Japanese American survivors of World War II internment camps here in the United States. He explained the complex issue this way:

"Because these old cases had sat on a shelf for so long—not because of the fault of the farmers but because of USDA's own incompetence or worse—those complaints could not be heard. None of these wrongs could be set right without an act of Congress ... I was told many times that it could not be done. But, spurred on by the farmers, tough negotiating, the perseverance of top Administration officials, and Congressional leaders from both parties, the impossible was made possible in this case. Now, for farmers whose civil rights complaints went unaddressed, the door is open again. They finally will have their cases heard and, where justified, receive appropriate compensation."⁸

Once this legal roadblock was removed, other more surmountable hurdles replaced it. The Secretary continued to meet with the Attorney General to express his frustration with the negotiations. Finally in January 1999, after months of painful negotiation, the parties agreed to a settlement in the form of a Consent Decree. Even though an agreement was reached, Judge Friedman allowed any interested parties to raise objections to the proposed Consent Decree before it was made final. A hearing was held so that the Judge could hear such objections. However, in a landmark opinion in April 1999, Judge Friedman approved the Consent Decree and it took effect.

Under the terms of the Consent Decree, an eligible class member could choose to have a claim processed under one of two claims processes. In order to administer such processes, USDA contracted out for an independent Claims Facilitator to serve as the Adjudicator of certain claims under the Consent Decree. The first claims process, known as Track A, is an expedited process under which a claimant files a claim form under oath setting forth the bases of the claim. Claimants who provide written "substantial evidence" of discrimination to an independent Adjudicator are awarded a \$50,000 cash payment, a payment to the IRS of the taxes on this amount, discharge of any outstanding debt at issue, and other equitable relief. Claimants may also be heard in Track B, which requires a higher standard of proof, and a hearing on the claim before an arbitrator. Claimants who prevail receive a tailored settlement including a cash payment equal to actual damages and forgiveness of outstanding USDA loans affected by discriminatory conduct.

Over 20,000 individuals have filed claims under the Consent Decree, with the vast majority being Track A claims. As of November 2000, many thousands more individuals had sought permission to file a late claim. In the Track A claims, the Adjudicator has ruled in favor of the claimant in about 60 percent of these cases. The adjudicator has also directed USDA to cancel more than \$8 million in loans for claimants who still had unpaid balances. Three claimants also prevailed to date on Track B claims, and

⁸ "Fairness for Black Farmers," Dan Glickman, *The Washington Post*, 11/13/1998.

received substantial damages. Class members received over half a billion dollars in damages, making this one of the largest, if not the largest, civil rights settlements in U.S. history.

Class members who prevailed also received other relief, including priority consideration, on a one-time basis, for the purchase, lease, or other acquisition of inventory property, and priority consideration for one direct farm ownership loan and one farm operating loan. Loan applications will be viewed in a light most favorable to the class member, and the amount and terms of any loan will be the most favorable permitted by law and USDA regulations. The class member also has a right to receive reasonable technical assistance to help with the preparation and submission of an application for a loan or inventory property.

Judge Friedman also appointed a Monitor to oversee implementation of the Consent Decree: Randi Roth was Executive Director of the Farmers' Legal Action Group, a non-profit advocacy group representing farmers. Many claimants who did not prevail on their claims asked the Monitor to have their claims reconsidered by the Adjudicator.

Several other *Pigford*-like class action suits have been filed claiming discrimination in the delivery of USDA farm programs. These include cases filed on behalf of Native Americans, Latinos, white small-scale farmers, and Asians and women. These cases were filed before the Statute of Limitations waiver expired on October 21, 2000.

USDA's legal journey was long, painstaking, and quite demanding on those who saw it through on a daily basis. But the end result also was deeply rewarding for many. In October of 2000, Civil Rights Director Gray put it this way: "I was in Arkansas recently having a meeting with the Arkansas Black Farmers Association. There was an elderly couple, certainly past their farming days. They were probably in their early 70s if not older. They had been farmers and they had come to this meeting to talk about the Consent Decree ... Here were people who had farmed, who had lost their farm, who were certainly in their retirement years. They had been able through the Pigford Settlement to get \$50,000 to help them live their last years a little more comfortably. It is those meetings that make me say 'Yes, it was worth it.' "

The Five Pillars of A New Culture

By October 2000, the Department had nearly every administrative policy and procedure in place to achieve its overall goal of treating every employee and customer fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect. It had changed the culture of USDA and re-earned the title of the "People's Department."

There is abundant evidence that significant progress was made during the Clinton Administration toward achieving the Department's five civil rights goals:

1. Accountability

Secretary Glickman issued policies and procedures to "hold managers, supervisors, and other employees accountable for ensuring that USDA customers and employees are treated fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect." As a result, all agency heads now are rated on their civil rights record, and the results are included in their annual performance appraisals—affecting their opportunities to earn pay raises and bonuses. All agency heads also must set civil rights performance standards for their managers and supervisors and hold them accountable for reaching these goals.

USDA now requires that any finding of discrimination or settlement in a claim of discrimination against USDA be referred to the Office of Human Resources Management staffs for appropriate action. USDA employees now pay a price for discrimination. Between January 1, 1998, and June 30, 2000, the Department took 97 disciplinary actions against employees for discrimination or mismanagement related to civil rights. These actions included 14 dismissals and other actions, ranging from official reprimands to suspensions.

The Department now requires each USDA agency to do a full compliance review of its civil rights employment program. To ensure impartiality, these reviews are conducted by outside contractors. Civil rights deficiencies that surface are corrected as soon as possible.

To help get to the bottom of persistent civil rights challenges, the Secretary contracted with outside firms during October 2000, to create accountability teams to review USDA offices responsible for a high number of civil rights complaints. To date, the teams have visited more than 30 field offices to review operations, interview witnesses, and determine why complaints persist and what factors may cause them.

2. Equal Access

Secretary Glickman's second civil rights goal was to "ensure equal access and provide equal treatment in the delivery of USDA programs and services to all customers." Toward this end, the Department embarked on a major expansion of its outreach efforts in order to increase minority participation in USDA programs. USDA also made a major priority of eliminating the backlog in program discrimination complaints that had built up for nearly 20 years due to the neglect of prior administrations. USDA worked effectively with Congress to enact legislation that results in greater State support for the 17 historically Black land-grant universities and Tuskegee.

Outreach Expanded. Glickman established the USDA Office of Outreach in 1997 to coordinate outreach throughout USDA, especially through expanding partnerships with community organizations. The Office administers the Outreach and Technical Assistance to Socially Disadvantaged Farmers (2501) program, which is conducted in partnership with community-based organizations, 1890 and 1994 land-grant colleges and universities, Hispanic-serving educational institutions, and other post-secondary institutions with experience in providing agricultural education or services to socially disadvantaged farmers and ranchers.

Secretary Glickman organized State Outreach Councils in each state composed of the heads of the USDA agencies and other Federal and state cooperating agencies and organizations. Annually, these councils developed plans for reaching the underserved and coordinating their outreach efforts. The Secretary also appointed a Small Farms Commission, created an Office of Small Farms, and employed a farmworker coordinator. In addition, to make USDA programs and service more readily available to American Indians, 136 USDA offices have been located on tribal lands.

Minority Participation Increased. When President Clinton came into office, 94 percent of all Farm Service Agency county committees had no female or minority representation. To help ensure greater representation, Secretary Glickman required the appointment of minority advisors to the committees in areas with relatively high concentrations of minority farmers. As the result of continued progress, by 1999 47 percent of all the Farm Service Agency State committee members were minorities and women, and the number of minorities and women serving on county committees increased by 26 percent between 1998 and 1999 alone. On October 11, 2000, the Secretary approved new county committee election

procedures to ensure fair elections and to see that more socially disadvantaged farmers have a voice in key decisions about U.S. farm policy.

Enhanced outreach efforts also greatly improved USDA's record of making farm loans to minority and women farmers. The dollar amount of USDA direct and guaranteed farm operating loans and direct farm ownership loans going to minorities and women increased by 50 percent between FY 1997 and FY 1999 alone. Also, the amount of guaranteed farm ownership loans to these groups almost doubled.

Backlog of Complaints Resolved. By the time President Clinton's USDA began addressing the Department's civil rights shortcomings in earnest, USDA had built up a backlog of some 1,088 customer program complaints. Many of these complaints had been filed during the 1980s when USDA's department-level civil rights office was dismantled by prior Administrations. By the end of the Clinton Administration, all but three of these complaints had been resolved, and new procedures were in place to resolve future complaints in a far more fair and timely manner.

State Matching Funds Required at Historically Black Land-Grant Universities and Tuskegee. There have been long-standing requirements in Federal legislation that States must at least match Federal funds that go to the major land-grant institutions established under the Morrill Act of 1862, and these institutions have benefitted enormously from the State-Federal partnerships that have formed and grown over long periods of time. In contrast, Federal support for research and extension at the Historically Black 1890 Universities and Tuskegee was only begun in 1973 and until legislation enacted in 1998 became law, there were no requirements at all for State funding for these programs. Secretary Glickman was a strong advocate for provisions in the Agricultural Research, Extension, and Education Reform Act of 1998, which for the first time imposed State matching requirements on the receipt of Federal funds for research and extension. When fully implemented, this requirement will result in a 50-percent increase in resources over what they might otherwise have been.

3. Workforce Diversity

Secretary Glickman's third civil rights goal was to "eliminate under-representation in the workforce by recruiting and employing a highly skilled, competent, and diverse workforce, free of discrimination, reprisal, and sexual harassment." A number of initiatives were targeted to meet this goal.

Efforts to Increase Diversity. Even before the President's July 2000 Executive Order that the Government hire a total of 100,000 new employees with disabilities, USDA was in the forefront in this area. Secretary Glickman established an advisory committee to focus attention on the unique needs of employees and applicants with disabilities, and to improve the Department's hiring record. In 1998, the committee issued a report entitled *A Time for Change*, making a series of recommendations. In 1999, the committee conducted a broad survey of employees to determine where to concentrate specific efforts. In 2000, USDA issued a policy on reasonable accommodations to help employees with disabilities function at peak efficiency and to fully utilize their potential. The Committee also instituted a pilot mentoring program for employees with disabilities. In addition, the Department's state-of-the-art Technology Accessible Resources Gives Employment Today (TARGET) Centers are acknowledged Government leaders in helping managers and employees with accessible technologies and accommodations for persons with disabilities.

The Department also is a leader in reaching out to the Hispanic community. In May 2000, the Secretary invited leaders of the 15 largest national Hispanic organizations to meet with him and his senior staff. At the meeting, Glickman sought ways the Department could improve employee recruitment and retention, and forge partnerships and alliances with Hispanic groups. Led by the Secretary's Hispanic Advisory Council, the Department developed a far-reaching Hispanic Employment Plan, which included expanding the number of positions recruited, and increasing the use of bilingual/bicultural certification.

The Department also successfully carried out President Clinton's Executive Order on increasing outreach to underserved communities of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. A group with representatives from every USDA mission area and from the three Asian American and Pacific Islander employee organizations prepared an action plan which was released on July 15, 2000 recommending targeted college recruitment; more USDA publications in languages such as Chinese, Hmong, and Vietnamese; and expanded outreach and partnerships with community organizations and educational institutions.

To ensure that the Department continues to hear employee concerns, the Secretary announced the establishment of five new minority employee advisory committees in 2000--one each for African-Americans, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, women, and gays and lesbians. These were in addition to the two existing advisory committees representing Hispanics and people with disabilities. In addition, a diversity council made up of two representatives from each committee was formed to advise the Secretary.

To address concerns, and ensure the fair and equitable treatment of gay and lesbian employees and customers, Civil Rights Director Gray appointed the Second USDA Task Force on Sexual Orientation in July 1999. The following year, the task force submitted a report including 20 recommendations to the Secretary. Secretary Glickman then charged Paul Fiddick, Assistant Secretary for Administration, to work with the newly created council to carry out the recommendations, which included developing an employee manual on avenues of redress for discrimination complaints, providing sexual orientation training for managers, and initiating a "Safe Space" program. In addition, the council was asked to further study five recommendations relating to partner benefits and sexual orientation nondiscrimination in customer service.

Diversity Improved. As a result of these efforts to improve the working environment for all USDA employees and to step up recruitment efforts, the Department made good progress toward President Clinton's goal of a workforce that looks like America. Even though the Department's total workforce decreased by more than 15 percent since 1993, representation of minorities and women steadily improved.

Figure 1. USDA Employment and Hiring Rates by Racial/Ethnic Groups, 1993 and 1999

Group	Percent of Total Employment 1993	Percent of Total Employment 1999	Percent of New Hires 1999
African Americans	9.4	10.8	15.1
Hispanics	4.1	4.8	5.6
Asian Americans/ Pacific Islanders	1.7	2.0	3.3
Native Americans	2.4	2.6	1.4
Persons with Disabilities	9.0	7.9	9.8
Women	41.1	41.9	53.5

Employment Complaints. The Department of Agriculture is a large and widely dispersed organization. With 106,000 permanent and temporary employees, it is the fifth largest Cabinet agency by employment. But on a per capita basis, USDA is in the middle of the pack in the rate of Equal Employment Opportunity complaints—standing exactly at the Government average of 1% per year.

USDA closed an average of 744 employment complaints per year during the 1995-99. This is more than all but three other Cabinet agencies. However, the Department received an average of 835 complaints a year for the same period. In 2000, 758 formal employment complaints were filed, which is the lowest number since 1996. To address them, USDA engaged contractors to review 360 complaints, recommend action, and draft appropriate letters for ratification.

Efforts to reach quick, fair complaint resolutions. In addition to more efficiently processing complaints, major efforts are underway to quickly reach a fair resolution. Alternative dispute resolution is

increasingly being used. By offering ways to resolve workplace disputes besides filing a formal discrimination complaint, alternative dispute resolution can bring early resolution to more conflicts and reduce the stress and disruption often associated with a complaint.

4. Sufficient Resources

Secretary Glickman's fourth civil rights goal was to "provide sufficient human, fiscal, and organizational resources, and train all employees, to institute an effective civil rights program." USDA identified civil rights and diversity training as a critical means for getting all employees to treat USDA co-workers and customers fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect. As a result, the Secretary issued regulations requiring annual civil rights and diversity training for all employees, plus special training for supervisors, managers, and executives. More than 99 percent of employees received at least a half-day of civil rights and diversity training in 1998, and again in 1999. In 2000, individual agencies offered training to their employees and the Office of Civil Rights, through an automated on-line training course covering key civil rights and diversity topics. The state-of-the-art, interactive, low-cost way of reaching employees in all 15,000 locations worldwide was the first comprehensive, departmentwide training, consistent with President Clinton's Executive Order 13111, "Using Technology to Improve Training Opportunities for Federal Government Employees."

In accordance with USDA's new civil rights policy, each agency is required to have a Civil Rights Director who reports directly to the agency head, and to have a civil rights program that includes program planning, evaluation and compliance, and complaints management. The policy also requires agency heads to allocate sufficient resources and assign trained qualified staff in sufficient numbers to support the agency's obligations for developing and implementing a comprehensive civil rights program.

5. Procurement

Diversifying USDA procurement and contracting activities was Secretary Glickman's fifth civil rights goal. To achieve it, the Office of Small and Disadvantaged Business Utilization expanded its outreach efforts to ensure greater participation of small and under-represented businesses. In support of these efforts, USDA agencies also developed outreach plans. The plans target underrepresented small business groups to assist them in becoming more competitive.

These efforts led to two new programs dedicated to enhance small businesses in rural areas. The Small Business Education and Development Program works to stimulate the rural economic base; promote the growth and stability of small businesses located in rural America; identify markets for agricultural products of small, limited-resource farmers; and provide access to educational and technical resources. Bringing Rural America Venture Opportunities helps assist Tribal entities in establishing small, start-up information technology companies.

USDA Honors a Hero: The George Washington Carver Center

In October 1999, USDA honored one of the greatest agricultural scientists of all time, George Washington Carver, by naming a newly constructed headquarters office complex in Beltsville, Maryland, in his honor. The 350,000-square-foot facility is the first USDA facility, and the first Government-owned facility in the Washington metropolitan Area, to be named for an African American. Dr. Carver was an unpaid USDA employee (then known as a "collaborator") prior to his death in 1943.

Thurgood Marshall, Jr., represented President Clinton at the dedication ceremony, which was attended by more than 700 people. Representatives from Tuskegee University, Simpson College, Iowa State University, and the Carver National Birth Site all joined with USDA to share in the life and work of Dr. Carver. The Center stands as a permanent recognition of his extensive contributions to the advancement of agriculture. In dedicating the building, Secretary Glickman said, "I can think of no better name to grace this complex than that of George Washington Carver. He helped significantly improve the lives of American farmers through his innovative research. We at USDA are dedicated to following in his footsteps."

In 1999, USDA awarded 2,330 contracts to socially disadvantaged and minority firms--12.9 percent of all contracts awarded. These contracts totaled \$308 million. Under the Clinton Administration, USDA nearly doubled the proportion of its contracts going to socially disadvantaged and minority firms, making it one of the leaders in the Federal Government in this vital area.

What Remains to be Done

When the dust settled and the Administration's day came to a close, nearly every recommendation of the Civil Rights Action Team that Secretary Glickman had authority to implement was acted on. Without a doubt, this landmark effort had changed the culture of the Department of Agriculture. While much of the change has been institutionalized at USDA, the continued commitment of the Nation's leaders is essential.

Congress, in particular, has significant opportunities to carry on the civil rights progress of President Clinton's USDA. Eleven of the team's recommendations that have yet to be implemented require legislative changes. The most controversial (and many would argue the most essential) among them is the proposal to convert county Farm Service Agency employees to Federal status. Many USDA employees who work in offices across the country are not Federal civil servants. Even though the Federal Government pays their salaries, they are subject to a separate personnel system that answers to the local farmer-elected county committees, rather than to the Secretary of Agriculture. Many believe that this system stands in the way of uniform civil rights accountability throughout USDA, and allows pockets of discrimination to persist in certain parts of the country. On the other side of the issue, however, are several powerful members of Congress who represent largely agricultural districts and who worry that converting these employees to Federal status might take away some of the local flexibility in administering farm programs. While Glickman strongly argued for the conversion, making clear that a distinction could be made between local flexibility in farm programs and illegal local flexibility in

Federal civil rights laws, the politically volatile issue has yet to make any significant headway in Congress.

Conclusion

"You've got to go back to the beginning. . . . I turned over a rock here and found a lot of stuff that hadn't been dealt with in decades. The Government had neglected these issues for too long . . . I doubt there is another agency in Government that has made anywhere near the progress we have. We started a lot further back. We had a lot further to go." This is the way Secretary Glickman summarized the status of civil rights at the Department of Agriculture in an interview in the Washington Post in the fall of 2000.

Evidence of how far the Department has come in civil rights and diversity since 1993 is abundant. Participation of minorities and women in farm programs has increased dramatically; the processing times for farm ownership and operating loans has declined markedly; diversity of the workforce has improved significantly in all racial/ethnic groups; all employees are receiving civil rights and diversity training annually; contracts with socially disadvantaged and minority firms have more than doubled; and the number of program and employment complaints is declining.

The Department has the regulations, policies, procedures, and organizational structure in place to keep these trends improving and to achieve its overall goal of treating all customers and all employees fairly and equitably, with dignity and respect. USDA is changing its culture, re-earning its title of "The People's Department," and emerging as the leader in civil rights among the Federal agencies.

When President Clinton took the oath of office, he placed his hand on a specific passage in the Bible. It was Isaiah 58:12, and it read, "Thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in." While the Nation still has a long journey ahead of it to truly embody the strength that can be found in its myriad diversity. President Clinton's effort to begin a dialogue and the process of healing old wounds will have its place in history. And the work at USDA will forever be the Administration's most concrete example of the possibility of transforming ideals into action, of healing a painful past and building a shared future of progress.

5. Defending and Strengthening the Federal Nutrition Safety Net

Promoting Health, Fighting Hunger Amid Prosperity

"The last 4 years have seen an American economy that is roaring into prosperity. . . . But we can never forget that all-is not right with America. Tonight in America—the land of plenty—parents will whisper, trying not to wake the children, and struggle to figure out how to make ends meet, how to get food on the table. And in another room, their children will be trying to fall asleep and trying to ignore the sore pain of hunger. Those of us who are parents feel their pain in our own hearts. Those of us who are Americans feel their pain in our Nation's spirit."

Vice President Al Gore

National Summit on Food Recovery and Gleaning

September 15, 1997

"We stand at the dawn of a new century in the world's most powerful Nation. Our military, our economics, our leadership are unrivaled. What should we do with all this strength and abundance? I say we show the world what true leadership means. I saw we destroy an enemy that has never known defeat. United, we can beat hunger and turn to the world and say, 'yes, it can be done.' "

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman

National Summit on Food Recovery and Gleaning

September 15, 1997

When most people are asked to think about the Clinton Administration's legacy fighting hunger, they are likely to conjure up images of U.N. troops airlifting USDA-purchased foods to refugees fleeing the war in Kosovo, or the prompt, massive response of the Administration to requests for humanitarian food donations to avert a famine of epidemic proportions in the Horn of Africa. Given the historic economic expansion that occurred in the United States during the Clinton years, more Americans are likely to think of hunger as a challenge halfway around the world, rather than halfway across town.

Yet in selecting his two Secretaries of Agriculture, President Clinton chose men who would never forget that even in the midst of an unprecedented era of prosperity, nearly 10 million Americans lived in households that were forced to make impossible choices between medicine, meals and other basic needs. From protecting food stamps and school lunches from an unprecedented assault by a new Republican leadership in Congress to expanding community-based food recovery efforts—this Administration made clear that it would not only fight for a strong economy, but also work toward the day when the wealthiest Nation on earth could use its power to eliminate hunger in America and dramatically reduce its presence around the world.

The Administration also invested heavily in nutrition research to expand the body of scientific knowledge illuminating the powerful ties between nutrition and health. It also did more than any

Administration before it to translate this knowledge into healthier eating habits among the general public. As a result, the Clinton Administration leaves as its legacy a reinvigorated role for the U.S. Government in fighting hunger across the country and around the world, as well as strong lasting programs, tools, and scientific knowledge that will help improve America's health for generations to come.

A Changing Political Landscape

Bill Clinton came to the presidency with a clear vision of the role of Government: to give people who work hard and play by the rules the tools to make the most of their own lives. One of the Federal Government's most important roles is to ensure that children and low-income people have access to the nutritious food that they need to lead healthy, productive lives. When the Clinton Administration took office in 1993, Federal food assistance programs faced the challenge of significant change. For much of their history, the economic needs of agricultural producers and the nutrition needs of the poor converged to form a strong base of support for USDA's anti-hunger programs. But in recent decades, important changes occurred in the political environment surrounding these efforts.

With the rapid suburbanization of the country, the number of Members of Congress representing primarily agricultural constituencies had been declining for years. Redistricting also reduced the number of Members of Congress representing low-income populations. These changes weakened the political alliance that had created the Federal nutrition safety net, leaving it vulnerable to a new trend in Washington—the drive to "devolve." This movement peaked in 1995 with the change in House leadership, and the desire of many in the new Republican majority to dismantle Federal programs and return the money back to the States to address the issue (or not) as they saw fit.

Key Administration Priorities

The Clinton Administration recognized from the outset that Federal nutrition programs were vital tools, not just for those on welfare, but also for the working poor, those trying to make the transition from economic dependency to work, and for all of the Nation's children. The Administration also knew that the programs needed to be reformed to better meet the nutrition needs of the 21st Century. In accordance with the Administration's strong belief that no Americans should be left behind, it stepped beyond the traditional goal of reducing hunger through food benefits, and set the only goal conscionable for the wealthiest and most agriculturally abundant Federal on earth— to work toward the day when this Nation can eliminate hunger and focus not just on filling empty bellies, but also on improving nutrition and health. To help harness the explosion in scientific understanding of the powerful ties between nutrition and health, the Clinton Administration also created the Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion, and charged this new entity with the task of connecting the latest scientific research to the nutrition needs of the American public.

In pursuit of this ambitious agenda, the Clinton Administration set out a clear strategy: to strengthen the Nation's *food* assistance programs and reposition them as *nutrition* assistance programs that are effective, major contributors to the nutrition and health of the Nation. By

improving the effectiveness of the programs, in fighting hunger, promoting nutrition, and addressing lingering issues regarding program integrity, the Administration ultimately restored a firm base of support for these programs. As a part of this strategy, President Clinton's USDA pursued three major priorities:

- To strengthen the structure of Federal nutrition programs, so that they fight hunger and improve food security effectively in every State in the Nation,
- To integrate modern nutrition knowledge into the programs by improving the nutritional quality of food benefits, increasing nutrition education, and promoting healthy eating habits, and
- To reform the programs to ensure their integrity and cost-effectiveness, in order to bolster public confidence that these tax dollars are spent fighting hunger and promoting nutrition.

In each of these areas, the Administration took major strides in meeting the Government's evolving nutrition responsibilities by:

- Preserving a national system of nutrition assistance programs with national standards that reach all those in need, no matter where they live,
- Improving the nutrition quality of program benefits to promote good health,
- Developing state-of-the-art nutrition education strategies that work across, programs to help program participants choose and enjoy a healthful diet
- Creating a nutrition policy and promotion organization within USDA, to promote improved nutrition for all Americans, and
- Improving program administration through technology and quality management.

Strengthening America's Food Security Safety Net

Federal nutrition assistance programs are a central part of our Nation's commitment that in a land of abundance, no one should have to go hungry. The Clinton Administration fought to preserve these programs against efforts to cut their funding, and to end the national standards that ensure that they reach all those in need, wherever they live. It won this fight, and went on to significantly expand and improve access to these vital programs.

Protecting the Structure of Nutrition Assistance

With the emergence of a Republican majority in Congress in 1995, the Administration faced a major effort to dismantle Federal nutrition assistance. As a key component of its "Contract with America," the new House Speaker Newt Gingrich and his Congressional leadership proposed to convert the Food Stamp, Child Nutrition, and WIC programs into block grants to States. They also sought to limit funding in future years in ways that would prevent the programs from keeping pace with a growing U.S. population.

The Clinton Administration viewed these policy changes as a direct assault on the national commitment to providing nutrition assistance to every child and low-income person who needs

it. They charged that the other side was pressing a wolf in sheep's clothing—working to undo the popular Federal nutrition safety net under the popular banner of "welfare reform." The Administration and their Democratic allies in Congress took their argument to the American people—dismantling the Republican proposal in a thorough, fact-based analysis. The Administration made clear that by ending the National School Lunch Program and other Federal nutrition efforts, and simply sending the money to States as block grants, there was no guarantee the money would be spent feeding children and families. And there would be no assurance that States adhere to any nutrition standards that ensure children eat wholesome meals that improve their health.

The bottom line? The Republican plan broke faith with the hallowed tradition in America of fighting hunger across the Nation. Under this proposal, there would be no guarantee that a child in Wichita, Kansas, and a child in New York, New York, would have the same access to healthy school meals. In other words, the wildly popular Federal nutrition safety net that had been built up over the past 20 years would be gone.

President Clinton knew where the vast majority of the American people stood on the issue of Federal nutrition programs. In leading the defense, he called the Republican plan "at odds with American values."

The pivotal public event in this debate—indeed, the event that may have turned the tide against block-grants—was President Clinton's visit to an Alexandria, Virginia, school on March 9, 1995. There, he decried the short-sightedness of the Republican proposals:

"School lunches have always been seen by both Democrats and Republicans as an essential part of student education... .. Unfortunately, this year, some members of the new Congress have decided that cutting this program would be a good way of cutting Government spending and financing tax cuts for upper-income Americans. This is penny-wise and pound-foolish.

"While saving some money now, these nutrition programs for schoolchildren and for women and for infants save several dollars in social costs for every dollar we spend on them. The American people want a Government that works better and costs less, not a Government that works worse and costs more We have to give our children more support so they can make the most of their own lives."

That day, President Clinton turned the political tide against the block-grant proposal. Many also believe that he ended the "honeymoon" of the new Republican leadership in Congress and revealed to the American people a dark side to their then-popular "Contract with America." By revealing how plainly at odds their proposal was with basic American values, he dealt a severe political blow to his opponents and secured a major victory for the Nation's nutrition safety net. In fact, in later years when similar proposals were put forth that would curb the Nation's anti-hunger efforts, invariably moderate Republicans would step forward and urge their colleagues not to put their party through "School Lunch 2."

In the months that followed, the Administration fought to preserve the school meals programs and other nutrition assistance programs. The President twice vetoed welfare reform bills passed by Congress, in part because they included deep cuts in the Food Stamp Program. Because the Administration stood firm, this program continues to provide nutrition assistance for children and low-income people across the Federal. Nevertheless, the President remained committed to real welfare reform--reform that moved more people into the work force, without pushing more families into hunger--and later worked toward the passage of welfare reform in 1996. In 1998, President Clinton explained his position this way:⁹

"I remember when we had the debate on welfare reform, and I vetoed the first two bills and I signed the third one.... The two I vetoed said, we're going to make you go to work if you're able bodied, and if you have to give up being a good parent, that's fine with us. We're not going to give your kids Medicaid. We're not going to give your kids food stamps. We're not going to provide adequate childcare for you. The most important thing is work, and if you can't be a good parent, that's tough. I still believe that [being a parent is] the most important job in America. So when they fixed the bill, I signed it."

Implementing Welfare Reform

Welfare reform was signed into law by President Clinton on August 22, 1996, reflecting significant improvements from the original Republican version. However, the final legislation did include provisions limiting access to Food Stamps and other nutrition benefits for legal immigrants and other categories of people. When signing the bill, President Clinton made clear that a number of provisions limiting access to the Food Stamp Program went too far. So the Administration went to work immediately to soften the harsh edges of the new law. President Clinton and Secretary Glickman saw food stamps not only as a benefit to the unemployed, but also as a key tool for the working poor to help them make ends meet – a key tool to help ensure a successful transition from welfare to work. So in carrying out the historic reform of the Federal's welfare system, USDA worked to ensure that Food Stamps and other Federal nutrition assistance continued to support the basic food and nutrition needs of the working poor. Key efforts under this banner included:

- *Restoring benefits for legal immigrants:* The Administration allowed States to offer benefits to over 172,000 legal immigrants who were stripped of their Federal benefits under the new law, and secured a 1998 law that restored Food Stamps for 225,000 legal immigrant children, seniors, and people with disabilities who lost them under welfare reform. The Administration proposed further restorations, but Congress did not enact them.
- *Helping Working Families Buy Food:* In 1999 and 2000, the Administration took action to help ensure access to food stamps for the working poor. USDA changed its policies to make it easier for working families to own a car and still receive food stamps. This was

⁹ Remarks to the New Democrat Network Dinner, July 13, 1998

an essential piece of ensuring that food stamps could assist the transition from welfare to work. In 2000, the Administration also raised the limit on how much a family could deduct from its income for rent, helping make food stamps available to more households whose ability to purchase a nutritious diet is diminished by high housing costs.

- *Informing Potential Recipients:* As welfare reform became a reality, USDA also noted a sharp decline in Food Stamp Program participation--a drop that could not be explained entirely by the new law or improvements in the economy. Many believed the decline was due to confusion over eligibility. So starting in July 1999, the Administration launched a national public education campaign and a toll-free hotline, in English and Spanish, to raise awareness about food stamp eligibility and benefits.
- *Protecting Unemployed Adults:* Since 1997, the Administration worked with States to exempt unemployed adults from Food Stamp time limits in areas where work is not available. Ultimately, persistent poverty areas in 36 States received exemptions. The Administration also greatly increased funding for States to provide employment and training opportunities for food stamp recipients.
- *Improving Food Stamp Program Access:* To ensure food stamps reach all who need them, the Administration developed access guides--for working families and for elderly people. The guides are used by program administrators and advocates. USDA also initiated access reviews around the country to better ensure the program's responsiveness to all potential applicants.

WIC Appropriation and Participation, FY1992-2000

Fiscal year	Funding	Participation
1992	\$2,600,000	5,403,403
1993	\$2,860,000	5,921,214
1994	\$3,210,000	6,477,189
1995	\$3,470,000	6,894,413
1996	\$3,729,807	7,187,831
1997	\$3,729,807	7,406,866
1998	\$3,924,000	7,367,397
1999	\$3,924,000	7,311,206
2000	\$4,032,000	

WIC Program Growth

From the beginning, the Administration made a major commitment to the WIC Program, recognizing its effectiveness not only in improving the health of at-risk low-income women and their children, but also in reducing the health care costs that result from lack of preventive care. Year after year, USDA secured significant budget increases, aimed at moving toward the goal of attaining full participation among eligible pregnant women, new mothers, and their young children. The numbers tell the story: in FY92, WIC served 5.4 million people. By FY99, 7.3 million participants were served.

The Administration also championed major improvements to the WIC Program. For example, USDA established, through a unique Federal/State/local partnership, uniform criteria for the nutritional risks that determine who is eligible for the program, promoting fairness and consistency in the way WIC operates across the Federal.

The Administration also pursued rebates on infant formula purchases, to maximize the program's ability to reach as many eligible people and stretch every program dollar. This has been one of the most successful cost-saving measures ever initiated in the Federal Government, and the rebates enable the program to serve many more people. In FY 1992, rebates were \$755 million; by FY 2000, rebate savings are projected at approximately \$1.5 billion, supporting over 25 percent of current caseload.

WIC is supplemented in some areas by the WIC Farmers' Market Nutrition Program, which provides additional benefits for WIC participants that they can redeem for fresh produce at participating farmers markets. USDA increased the size of the program nearly six-fold—from \$3.2 million in FY1993 to \$20 million in FY2001. The growth in funding has increased the revenue of thousands of small and limited resource farmers and improved the diets of millions of low-income women, infants, and children.

Expanding Child Nutrition Program Access

Teachers, school administrators, and the public health community have long recognized the value of USDA's Child Nutrition Programs. But the increase in recent years of after-school care, educational, and recreational programs—and the Clinton Administration's major emphasis on expanding these important programs—highlighted the need to provide nutritious food for children beyond the school setting.

The Administration worked closely with key members of Congress to develop and propose an expansion of after-school snack programs to children up to age 18. The proposal was included in the 1998 reauthorization of the WIC and Child Nutrition Programs. It represents the Administration's success in securing passage of the first legislative proposal to expand these programs offered by an Executive Branch in 20 years, and has resulted in provision of millions of nutritious snacks to children in after-school settings. This effort provided a major incentive for at-risk children to come to after-school settings and stay off the streets during the hours teenagers are most likely to get into trouble. USDA's effort was part of a broader Administration endeavor—led primarily by Mrs. Clinton—to expand after-school programs, so at-risk children had safe, healthful and productive places to spend these critical hours.

Promoting Gleaning and Food Recovery

More than one quarter of the food produced in this country each year is thrown out—edible yet unused—by grocery stores, restaurants and others at the retail and food service levels. Sparking a major increase in the gleaning and food recovery efforts led by national grass-roots organizations such as Second Harvest and Share Our Strength was a personal mission of Secretary Dan Glickman. In evangelizing on the issue, Glickman frequently quoted a passage from the Old Testament: "When you reap the harvest of your land, do not reap the corners of your field, and do not glean the fallen ears of your crop ... you must leave them for the poor and the stranger." Glickman understood full well that private antihunger efforts could never replace a strong Federal nutrition safety net that the Administration so effectively defended and expanded. But he also worked diligently to encourage private, community-based efforts to ensure more wholesome food reached hungry families who need it.

Toward this end, the Administration secured enactment of the "Bill Emerson Good Samaritan Food

Donation Act," which exempts those who recover or donate food from any potential liability. The new law made it far easier for citizens and businesses to donate unneeded food to soup kitchens and other charities. Glickman also held the first National Summit on Food Recovery in September 1997. There, Secretary Glickman and Vice President Gore set an ambitious goal to increase by 33 percent the amount of food recovered nationwide. Since then, USDA has led efforts to create grass-roots food recovery projects in more than 40 States, in conjunction with farmers and ranchers, through which more than 10 million pounds of excess food has been collected for donation.

USDA has distributed a number of useful information resources that help people start, expand, and volunteer for nonprofit food recovery activities. The Department also helped to establish a new partnership between Hewlett Packard and America's Second Harvest to create and run an Internet-based "hub" that links growers, manufacturers, processors, shippers, and distributors with the America's Second Harvest food bank network to help get more food to hungry people rather than go to waste. All of these efforts have helped billions of pounds of wholesome, nutritious food reach the mouths of the hungry, rather than the mouth of a dumpster.

Quantifying Waste, Quashing Hunger

At the direction of Secretary Glickman, USDA economists conducted a study to quantify just how much food goes to waste in this country every year. Their analysis stunned even many of those who dedicated their lives to promoting gleaning and food recovery: 27 percent of the edible food supply in the United States, more than 96 billion pounds in 1995, goes to waste. The report revealed not only how much food was lost, but also where it was lost—helping identify where it was feasible to rescue more food and get it to hungry families. The study was the first of its kind in 20 years. It also was the first ever to report losses by commodity type and across multiple marketing stages, and to identify some of the economic incentives and costs associated with food recovery and gleaning programs. Although it is not possible to eliminate all food waste, the study found that even a modest increase in the recovery of safe, wholesome foods could: reduce hunger, provide tax savings to those who donate food, and lessen the environmental impacts of food waste disposal. These estimates were widely reported in major national media outlets. The national attention was instrumental in generating public awareness and support for Secretary Glickman's food recovery and gleaning efforts. According to the Washington Post, a television news story on the USDA loss estimates in Charlotte, North Carolina, resulted in a doubling of food donations to a local food bank there.

Glickman was a die-hard advocate of gleaning. His commitment stretched back well into his early years in Congress. As Secretary he not only pushed for more Federal resources to expand and support grass-roots food recovery efforts, he also made a habit of asking virtually every group he was in contact with to help – be it a conference luncheon he was speaking to or a restaurant he went to in his personal time. Secretary Glickman also was quick to get the rest of the Federal Government in on the act—not only in the cafeterias at their headquarters, but in all aspects of their work. The idea came from a conversation he had with the President. When speaking at the Foodchain Annual Conference in April, 1997, he told the story this way.

"I'll never forget telling President Clinton that USDA's cafeteria donates its excess food. His eyes lit up. He wanted all Federal agencies to follow USDA's lead. We first talked a few weeks before Thanksgiving. By the holiday weekend, he was giving a radio address urging people to ensure that good food gets to people who need it a whole lot more than a dumpster does. It wasn't a passing fancy, either. Just a few weeks ago, President Clinton asked me to make a presentation on food rescue to the full Cabinet. It was a very receptive audience. I'm now heading an Interagency Task Force to make the Federal Government a heavyweight donor to groups like Foodchain. We're asking Justice to look at their Federal prison system. Interior will talk to their concessionaires. And, Defense is going to eyeball their mess halls."

Recovering Food, Reinventing Government

Following the National Summit on Food Recovery and Gleaning, from 1997-2000 USDA employees across the Nation gleaned or recovered more than 13 million pounds of nutritious food worth more than \$6 million. Much of that food came directly from farmers' fields and would have gone to waste had USDA Service Center employees not taken action. The employees created public/private partnerships that continue to recover food to help fight hunger and food insecurity in America. In 1999 alone, these partnerships gleaned more than four times the volume of fresh produce gleaned in 1998. With no additional staff or money, these results truly demonstrate a Government that works better, costs less, and achieves meaningful results. USDA's Farm Service Agency, which led this grass-roots effort, accepted Vice President Gore's Hammer Award for reinventing government on behalf of the USDA Gleaning and Food Recovery Team.

Food Security Measurement

Recognizing the need for a rigorous measure of food security and hunger in the United States, USDA developed a survey to determine a household's food security status. Building on over a decade of research, the measure was first fielded as a large-scale survey effort to measure the extent of food insecurity and hunger among American households in 1995. Since then, it has been fielded annually as a supplement to the *Current Population Survey*, a monthly labor-force survey conducted by the Census Bureau. The measure is widely recognized as the state-of-the-art assessment of food security and hunger in the United States. The figures reveal that hunger remains a persistent problem despite the Nation's historic economic expansion during the Clinton-Gore years, underscoring the importance of a continued strong Federal nutrition safety net.

Community Food Security Initiative

In 1999, USDA launched a governmentwide Community Food Security Initiative to help communities build their grass-roots capacity to decrease hunger, improve nutrition, and help families move from poverty to self-sufficiency in their local areas. The Initiative builds vital links between USDA and nonprofit groups, businesses, and private citizens, as well as with State, local, and Tribal governments. These stronger ties all work toward one goal: helping communities across America end hunger. Without

hiring a single Federal employee, the Initiative: generated more than 100 new public, private, and nonprofit sector commitments to fight hunger and strengthen local food systems; recovered more than 10 million pounds of wholesome excess food; provided technical assistance to antihunger and community food security projects in all 50 States; forged a partnership between Hewlett Packard and America's Second Harvest Food Bank Network to use computer technology to better match companies donating food with non-profit organizations that feed the hungry; launched a community gardening initiative to "plant a row for the hungry"; helped launch a major new initiative that allows family farmers to sell directly to the school meals program; and, forged a partnership with Second Harvest and the American School Food Service Association to start a national program to convert school cafeterias into community kitchens.

Using Nutrition Knowledge to Promote Health

In recent decades, science made great advances in understanding the links among diet, nutrition, and long-term health. The Clinton Administration made a wide-ranging effort to harness this new knowledge to benefit the American people, by making a strong commitment to nutrition research, by building state-of-the-art nutrition promotion into Federal food assistance programs, and by significantly increasing efforts to promote healthy eating among the general U.S. population.

Improving Nutrition in School Meals

In the first year of the Clinton Administration, a USDA report confirmed what many American school children and their parents already knew--that school meals had unhealthy levels of fat and cholesterol. Recognizing a fundamental responsibility to promote the long-term health of our Nation's children, the Administration launched in June 1994 the School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children, the first major update of school meals nutrition standards in the program's 50-year history. The new standards ensure that school meals reflect the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans*, while still ensuring that they provide the calories and nutrients needed by growing children. The Initiative offers flexibility to menu planners, as well as extensive training and technical help for schools working to meet the standards.

In November 1994, Congress made permanent the Administration's efforts by amending the National School Lunch Act to require school meals to reflect the Dietary Guidelines for Americans.

Serving consistently healthful meals required major changes in school food services, as well as support for healthful eating through educational efforts in the classroom. To achieve these results, in June 1995 USDA launched Team Nutrition, to promote the nutrition and health of the Nation's children through education efforts in the schools. The most sweeping nutrition education and technical assistance effort in USDA history, Team Nutrition developed 53 unique nutrition education and model training materials to help schools and childcare centers. Currently there are approximately 96,500 schools, 21,000 school districts, and 40,000 childcare centers teaching children the importance of healthful eating through Team Nutrition.

But those familiar with children's eating habits knew that state-of-the-art nutrition education and technical assistance are not enough. Vending machine snack foods and sodas, rushed lunch periods, and other factors also heavily influence the quality of children's diets. To help encourage healthy choices, the Department focused on reinforcing healthy eating messages in the cafeteria and the classroom with messages throughout the school campus.

USDA reached out to educators, health professionals, communities, and families across the Nation to make real commitments to making the whole school environment supportive of healthy eating habits. In

June 1999, Under Secretary Shirley Watkins convened a forum of the health, education, business, and school nutrition communities to recommend actions to create a healthy school nutrition environment. The following year, USDA launched a national partnership with the American Academy of Family Physicians, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Dietetic Association, the National Medical Association and the National Hispanic Medical Association. The members committed to work with schools and communities to recognize the health and educational benefits of balanced eating and the importance of making it a priority in every school. One example of a concrete effort: encouraging more schools to make decisions regarding the sale of nonschool meals program foods on campus--like vending machine snacks and sodas--based on their nutritional value to children, rather than their profit value to the school.

Key events:

- October 1993--USDA study reveals unhealthy levels of fat and cholesterol in school meals
- June 1994--School Meals Initiative for Healthy Children launched
- June 1995--Team Nutrition launched
- Fall 1995--Team Nutrition reaches all 50 States
- June 2000 - Healthy School Nutrition Environment partnership begins

Food Stamp Nutrition Education

USDA recognized that the Food Stamp Program--the Nation's largest nutrition assistance program--offers not only a critical source of food for recipients, but also an important opportunity to promote their health by encouraging better food choices. President Clinton's USDA championed the use of Federal funds to provide nutrition education to Food Stamp recipients. In FY 1992, seven States used approximately \$660,000 for nutrition education; by FY2000, 48 States will provide this education, using nearly \$99 million in USDA funds.

Preventing Childhood Obesity

Childhood obesity is now the most prevalent nutritional disease among America's youth, and it is often the beginning of a lifetime of serious medical problems. The Clinton Administration through USDA was the first to give a national forum to experts eager to raise the profile of America's "quiet epidemic." To focus attention on this growing problem, USDA held a symposium in October 1998 on "Childhood Obesity: Causes and Prevention." Many leading scientific and policy experts in nutrition, diet and physical activity gathered to discuss solutions to prevent long-term health risks associated with childhood obesity. As Secretary Glickman noted at the symposium: "For at least one in five kids, overweightness is not a cute phase that will be outgrown. It's the start of a lifetime of serious health problems. It is time we elevate this issue to its rightful place near the top of the public health agenda--alongside cancer, heart disease and other leading killers of Americans today."

In the wake of the symposium, the Department pursued innovative strategies to emphasize the need for America's children to combine a healthful diet with physical activity:

- *"Eat Smart. Play Hard"* is a national campaign to convey behavior-focused nutrition messages about healthy eating and physical activity to schoolchildren and their caregivers. Launched in July, 2000, the campaign debuted the "spokestoon" for USDA's Food and Nutrition Service--Power Panther™.
- *Team Nutrition*, the comprehensive effort to support healthier school meals, now also emphasizes the importance of combining a healthful diet with physical activity.

- *WIC Childhood Obesity Prevention Demonstration Projects* identify strategies that WIC clinics can use to help prevent childhood obesity.
- *The Food Guide Pyramid for Young Children* was launched in March 1999 by USDA's Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion to help improve the diet of children ages 2 to 6.

Promoting Healthful Eating for All Americans

To solidify its efforts to connect the latest scientific breakthroughs related to nutrition with efforts to educate the American people, the Clinton Administration established the Center for Nutrition Policy and Promotion in December 1994. The Center works to coordinate nutrition policy analysis with nutrition promotion—helping make the connection between what science knows about healthy eating and what Americans do to protect their health. Through its initiatives, nutrition research is translated into accessible information for health professionals, corporations, and consumers to increase public understanding of the ties between good nutrition and health.

Some of the Center's most significant achievements include:

- *Dietary Guidelines for Americans, 1995 and 2000*: These guidelines provide the basis for Federal nutrition policy and education activities. Published jointly by the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health and Human Services, the revisions reflected significant changes in the dietary guidance provided to the American public, including emphasizing the benefits of physical activity and expanding on the importance of fruits, vegetables and grains, as well as food safety.
- *National Nutrition Summit*. In 2000, Secretary Glickman convened a National Nutrition Summit with the original creators of the Food Stamp Program, Senators Bob Dole and George McGovern, to commemorate 25 years of food stamps.
- *Food Guide Pyramid for Young Children*: The original Food Guide Pyramid provides general dietary guidance. Recognizing the need to provide guidance that supports healthy diets at early ages, when lifetime practices are formed, the Center developed the Children's Pyramid in 1999. It is based on a special analysis of the dietary needs of children ages 2 to 6.
- *Healthy Eating Index*: The Index was created in 1995 to gauge the quality of the American diet. This statistical tool can assess a person's eating patterns based on the *Dietary Guidelines for Americans* and the Food Guide Pyramid. The American Dietetic Association considers it the best overall diet quality measure. In 1999, CNPP created an interactive version of the index, so consumers can enter their daily food intake on-line to determine the quality of their own diet. The on-line Index then targets nutritional advice based on the results—translating science-based guidance into practical information.
- *Recipes and Tips for Healthy, Thrifty Meals*: CNPP developed a new menu and recipe book in 2000 to assist families in purchasing and preparing healthy meals on a tight budget.
- *Symposia on Nutrition and Policy*: Recognizing the need to share the latest nutrition-related research among nutrition professionals and the general public, CNPP launched a series of full-day symposia in 1998. Some of the most successful symposia included:
 "Childhood Obesity: Causes and Prevention" dramatically raised the profile of the leading childhood disease in the United States today,

"Breakfast and Learning in Children" highlighted the need for research to gauge the impact of a good breakfast on children's school behavior and performance, "The Great Nutrition Debate" included presentations by high-profile "diet doctors" and challenged them to defend the long-term health effects of their weight loss programs.

Science that Saves Lives

Beyond the important work of CNPP, the Clinton Administration also was a strong supporter of a wide range of research aimed at expanding the ties between nutrition and health. Here are just a few examples of USDA nutrition research in the Clinton-Gore era that will have a major impact on the public health for years to come:

- USDA research reveals foods high in antioxidants, like blueberries, strawberries, and spinach, can reverse some of the problems associated with aging.
- USDA researchers develop process for producing taxol, a powerful anticancer compound that is 100 times more productive than the original process, and will ensure adequate supplies of this increasingly scarce natural source.
- USDA funded research shows that whey and soy protein may help prevent breast cancer.

Maximizing the Taxpayer Investment in Nutrition Assistance

The Clinton Administration came into office committed to "a Government that works better and costs less." Federal nutrition assistance programs, with their vast scope and complex structure, represented a challenge. Because of their high profile and need for public support to operate effectively, they also represented a high priority in the Clinton Administration's reinvention effort. From 1993 to 2000, this commitment manifested itself in significant improvements in program integrity and administrative efficiency that have been central to preserving and enhancing these vital programs.

Improving Food Stamp Program Benefit Accuracy

Throughout its tenure, the Clinton Administration worked with States to improve the accuracy of food stamp benefit distribution. For example, the Administration allowed States to reinvest their penalties for payment inaccuracies in efforts to improve their program's accuracy. Over time, this will result in savings far in excess of the penalty fees. Beginning in 1998, States were also encouraged to reinvest a portion of their penalties in efforts to improve access to this important nutrition assistance program. These efforts led in part to a decline in the food stamp error rate by almost a full percentage point in FY 1999—the first such decrease since the implementation of welfare reform.

Fighting Food Stamp Fraud

To ensure that corrupt individuals did not threaten the integrity and public support for a vital antihunger program, the Clinton Administration put in place tough new integrity provisions for food stamp retailers, including pre-authorization screening, stricter day-to-day controls, and firm penalties for violators. USDA conducted more than 32,000 retailer investigations between 1993 and 2000. USDA also used Federal income tax offsets to collect claims owed by fraudulent recipients, and worked to provide States with stronger authorities with which to recover lost resources from food stamp traffickers. As a result of these efforts, food stamp trafficking rates decreased from about 4 cents on the dollar in 1993 to about 3 ½ cents on the dollar in the 1996-1998 period.

Operation Talon Hooks Criminals

Included in the 1996 welfare reform law was a provision authorizing State social service agencies to provide the addresses of food stamp recipients to law enforcement authorities for official purposes. This allowed law enforcement agencies to match their felony fugitive warrants with food stamp recipient records, facilitating the location and apprehension of fugitive felons.

In the wake of this legislation, USDA's Inspector General Roger Viadero coordinated a national law enforcement initiative dubbed "Operation Talon," to take full advantage of this new law. Operation Talon began as a pilot project in Kentucky. During May 1997, in partnership with State and local law enforcement agencies, the first 85 felony arrests were made. From there, Operation Talon grew into a nationwide dragnet encompassing 27 States. Among those arrested were fugitives wanted for murder, child molestation, rape, kidnapping, assault, and robbery. By 2000, some 6,791 fugitive felons had been apprehended.

In December of 1997, Vice President Gore, along with Secretary Glickman and Inspector General Viadero, announced the success of Operation Talon in a White House ceremony. Many of the State and local law enforcement professionals with whom the Office of the Inspector General worked were present. During a reception for these officers, two deputies from a rural county in Washington, who comprised their entire fugitive squad, said that Operation Talon was the "best thing that has happened" to their efforts. They were very impressed that, with the information now available to them, they found their fugitives at 90 percent of the addresses provided.

Electronic Benefits Transfer

The Clinton Administration was a big believer in the use of technology to improve the integrity and efficiency of Government services. Toward this end, USDA worked aggressively to grow a pilot program offering electronic food stamp benefits into a nationwide system to promote ease-of-access and reduced fraud. In 1993, only four States were operating electronic food stamp systems—which operate much like the ATM system. That pilot effort covered a mere 2% of nationwide benefits. By 2000, 42 State agencies were using the electronic system, covering over 75 percent of all benefits nationwide. The Clinton Administration also began the pursuit of an electronic benefits system for the WIC program. Wyoming implemented the first statewide electronic system for WIC in 2000. USDA supported similar projects in 12 other States, as well as efforts to link the systems with other key services, such as immunization, Medicaid and Head Start.

Taxpayer's Dream, Trafficker's Nightmare

EBT may stand for electronic benefits transfer; but if you're a trafficker in food stamps, the acronym stands for something altogether different--trouble. When USDA began using the program to deliver food stamp and WIC benefits, it gained not only a means of more efficiently delivering program benefits, but also a powerful new tool to go after fraudulent recipients and those who traffic in benefits intended for hungry families. While the EBT card has not eliminated illicit trafficking, EBT-generated records enabled USDA's Office of Inspector General (OIG) to better monitor sales and redemption activity. One investigation uncovered a small convenience store owner in Baltimore, Maryland, who trafficked more than \$700,000 in EBT food stamp benefits during an 18-month period. Since even-dollar-transactions are a tell-tale sign of trafficking, he attempted to cover his tracks by ordering employees to add \$3 plus change to each transaction. After USDA detected this technique in 92 percent of the transactions, the owner pled guilty and was sentenced to 2 years in prison and ordered to pay restitution of \$250,000. More than \$92,000 from the proceeds of the activity also was forfeited to the Government. Based on OIG's success identifying trafficking thanks to EBT, USDA developed an automated system to do similar reviews on a nationwide basis.

Increasing Food Stamp Program State Flexibility

Another hallmark of the Clinton Administration was encouraging the tailoring of Federal programs to local needs. Under this banner, the Administration worked to give States greater flexibility in administering the Food Stamp Program while upholding a high national standard of service to families in need. President Clinton's USDA approved or extended more than 1,400 administrative waivers to free various States to pursue a wonderfully diverse range of innovations--from standardizing rules across different programs to experimenting with different ways to merge compatible programs to provide more holistic service.

Improving Child and Adult Care Food Program Management

In the mid 1990s, USDA identified mismanagement and fraud among family day care home sponsors participating in the Child and Adult Care Food Program. Federal audits corroborated these findings. Recognizing a significant problem, the Administration took decisive, proactive action to improve State and local management of the program. These efforts included:

- Developing a National Training Program for State agency staff to address critical integrity problems.
- Giving States flexibility to better target their monitoring efforts, identify problem sponsors, and ensure effective local program administration.
- Proposing legislative changes, including a stricter sponsor-approval process, grants for States to enact quality standards for participating day care homes and centers, and administrative funding caps.
- Launching an intensive review to evaluate progress in improving program integrity.

Reinventing Food Distribution

One key aspect of the effort led by Vice President Gore to reinvent Government focused on making Government programs more responsive to the needs of those who use them. As a result, the Administration made improved USDA's commodity food distribution programs a hallmark of its reinvention efforts. These reforms marked the first major overhaul of these programs since the 1940s. One story, told by Secretary Glickman to the Public Voice National Food Policy Conference,¹⁰ explains why the program's reform offers a strong example of the benefit of the Administration's reinvention efforts:

"Not too long ago, I was at a food bank. An elderly woman came up to me and asked about our Commodity Supplemental Food Program. That's where we give packages of meat and grains and vegetables to needy women, children, and seniors. She tugged on my shirt and asked, 'Why don't you give us any cheese? Many of us are seniors, and in case you haven't noticed, we don't have any teeth!'"

Of course, Glickman promptly added cheese as a regular part of the program. This common-sense change was one of many that would reinvent USDA's food distribution efforts:

- *Commodity Nutrition Improvements:* USDA reviewed the nutrition profile of all commodities it distributed, reducing fat, salt and sugar, and introducing new offerings, such as 95 percent fat-free turkey ham, low-fat bakery mix, and reduced-fat cheese.
- *Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Project:* In 1995 USDA worked with the Department of Defense on a new approach to providing fresh fruits and vegetables to schools and Indian reservations. By 1999, over \$109 million in fresh produce was distributed through this innovative project.
- *Electronic Data Interchange:* In 1996 USDA put in place a system to transmit data electronically between State distributing agencies and the Department's mainframe computer system, greatly improving speed and accuracy over traditional paper-based procedures.
- *Commodity Complaint and Food Safety Project:* By creating a telephone hotline, cutting bureaucratic processes, and reducing paperwork and reporting burdens, USDA reduced the average time to resolve complaints regarding its commodity food program from 95 days to 15 days.
- *Improving Food Distributed on Indian Reservations:* In 1997, USDA reviewed the Food Distribution Program on Indian Reservations, and improved the nutrition and appeal of the foods offered.
- *Reinventing the Program for Schools:* Clinton's USDA worked with program partners, such as the American School Food Service Association and the American Commodity Distribution Association, to model a massive reinvention proposal that would enable the program to better serve its primary customers--schools that use the commodities to prepare meals for children. Reinvention pilots were launched for the 2000-2001 school year. The ultimate goal was to ensure States would maintain oversight responsibilities, but have the option to empower school districts to place commodity orders directly, eliminating layers of bureaucracy and creating far more flexibility for the individual schools.

¹⁰ March 13, 1997.

Leading the World War on Hunger

As a global leader in agricultural production, the United States is uniquely positioned to combat world hunger. Fulfilling this leadership responsibility was a high priority for the Clinton Administration. In 1996, Secretary Glickman led the United States delegation to the World Food Summit. There, the United States joined with countries around the world in agreeing to work closely together toward the goal of reducing hunger by half by the year 2015. From a major new initiative to improve world food security over the long-run to a dramatic escalation in U.S. participation in humanitarian food donation programs, the Clinton Administration put the United States squarely out front in leading the world war on hunger.

Global Food for Education Initiative

At the National Nutrition Summit in May of 2000, George McGovern, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Food Agencies in Rome, called on the United States to develop an international school feeding program to improve the nutritional status and educational achievement of children in the developing world. Two months later, President Clinton responded by creating a global school meals and preschool nutrition program to help countries encourage more of their children to enroll and complete their education. More than 120 million children worldwide are not enrolled in school, and tens of millions more drop out before achieving basic literacy. USDA will work with the United Nations World Food Program, private voluntary organizations, and others on this effort. In the first year of operation, the United States will invest \$300 million in the effort, which will help feed up to 9 million children in the developing world. Speaking to African leaders in Washington, DC, in September of 2000, President Clinton shared his long-term vision for the potential of the program:

"I have launched a \$300-million initiative, which I hope will be nothing more than a pilot program, to work with developing countries to provide free meals--nutritious breakfasts or lunches in schools--so that parents will be encouraged to send 9 million more boys and girls to school in countries that desperately need to increase school enrollment. We estimate that if our friends around the world will join us, and if we can cooperate with countries to deliver the food in an appropriate way, ... we estimate that for about \$4 billion worldwide, we could provide a nutritious meal in school to every child in every developing country in the entire world. That could change the face of the future for many African countries and many countries in Asia and Latin America, as well."

Humanitarian Food Aid

A largely untold but deeply significant legacy of this Administration is the dramatic escalation in humanitarian food aid it provided to countries around the world through the aggressive use of USDA programs. During 1999 alone, USDA provided approximately 8.5 million metric tons of U.S. commodities for humanitarian purposes. This was more than 5 times the previous year's donations, and the largest level of humanitarian food aid in at least 25 years. A significant portion of this assistance came as a direct result of President Clinton's Food Aid Initiative, which increased 5-fold U.S. donations of wheat and wheat products to 5 million metric tons in 1999.

In April of 1993, President Clinton announced a food aid package for Russia worth nearly \$900 million to help avert social unrest following the collapse of the former Soviet Union. In December 1998, the Administration responded to another request for food aid that was triggered by the effects of Russia's smallest grain harvest in decades and the collapse of the Russian currency. In this package, the United States provided 3.7 million metric tons of agricultural and food commodities at a value of approximately \$1.1 billion. The 1998 program was one of the largest humanitarian food aid packages to a single nation in the history of U.S. food aid.

USDA provided emergency food aid to Kosovar refugees, working closely with the U.S. Agency for International Development. In rapid response to the emergency need for food, the Clinton Administration airlifted high-energy biscuits to refugees crossing the borders into Albania and Serbia. USDA commodity donations were prepositioned in Greece to allow for their rapid shipment into Kosovo once the bombing ended. U.S. wheat flour also was prepositioned in warehouses in Texas and Louisiana and moved into the Kosovo region as needed.

Following Hurricanes Georges and Mitch, the United States reached out to help its Caribbean and Central American neighbors. After Georges struck the Dominican Republic, the United States donated 100,000 tons of wheat to be sold in the country to raise funds. The wheat sale generated about \$15 million that was used to rehabilitate hurricane-damaged small- and medium-scale farms. When Hurricane Mitch hit in December 1998, killing 9,000 Central Americans and destroying \$8.5 billion in infrastructure, USDA provided 170,000 metric tons of wheat and 50,000 metric tons of corn. Proceeds from the sale of these commodities were used for relief efforts.

USDA provided food assistance valued at \$165 million to help meet Indonesia's severe food needs brought about by financial, policy, and drought problems in the 1998-1999 period. Indonesia also received approximately 500,000 metric tons of wheat under the President's Food Aid Initiative. In 2000, USDA responded to Indonesia's continued difficulties with additional U.S. food assistance totaling approximately \$100 million.

The Clinton Administration's aggressive and highly successful use of food aid has been a largely untold, underappreciated story. History, however, will likely look back on the Administration's food aid accomplishments as one of President Clinton's great achievements.

Point, Click, and Fight Hunger Around the World

In line with Clinton Administration directives to harness the power of technology to improve Government programs, USDA pioneered the use of technology to increase the efficiency of its commodity food donation programs. By adding an Internet site to USDA's humanitarian programs, USDA allows vendors to submit bids via the Internet to sell their commodities to the Department for export as humanitarian food assistance. USDA's Electronic Bid Entry and Evaluation System was a recipient of Vice President Gore's Hammer Award, the Government Technology Award, and the Innovations in American Government Award for its contribution to the efficiency of USDA humanitarian food assistance efforts. Similar electronic applications are scheduled for development in 2000, including receipt of customer commodity orders and ocean transportation offers.

Conclusion

During the Clinton-Gore years, the Nation experienced a truly historic debate over the role of the Federal Government, and a real choice regarding the future structure--and indeed, the continued existence--of National nutrition assistance programs. The Clinton Administration stood strongly for preservation of that national structure, and enhanced it in important ways, including changes that helped the programs better support the transition from welfare to work.

At the same time, the Administration faced the challenge of reconciling its food assistance responsibilities with the tremendous advances in knowledge of the links between diet and health. President Clinton met the challenge by improving the nutritional quality of program benefits, and by integrating nutrition education and promotion within and across Federal programs—truly making these food assistance programs into nutrition assistance programs. At the same time, the Administration expanded USDA's reach to support improvements in the diets of all Americans through broad-based nutritional guidance and promotion.

Finally, the Clinton Administration recognized the humanitarian duty of the United States not only to fight hunger in this country, but also to be a world leader in the fight against hunger and malnutrition around the globe. This Administration rose to that challenge, dramatically expanding its humanitarian food donations through USDA programs and launching a major new initiative to reduce child hunger and promote education in the developing world. For these reasons, a key Clinton-Gore legacy will be a healthier Nation, a less hungry world, and a U.S. Government that honored and expanded America's historic role to reach for both.

6. Reviving the Rural American Dream

Empowering Rural Communities

"I still believe in a place called Hope."

President Bill Clinton
November 3, 1993

"Twenty percent of our people live in rural America, but they are spread out over 80 percent of our land mass. In the 21st century, knowledge is power. Information is power. Those who have access have the best chance of success. For our Nation to live up to its full potential in a technology-driven, global Information Age, we cannot afford to leave small towns and rural communities behind—one fifth of our Nation."

Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman
Announcing Telemedicine and Distance Learning Grants
At the Louisiana State University Medical Center
October 21, 1997

Historians will inevitably debate the reasons that motivated then-Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton to pick as his running mate then-Senator Al Gore, Jr. Invariably the debate will revolve around shared viewpoints on key issues from education to the environment to health care to foreign policy. One statistic that should not be underestimated, however, is the populations¹¹ of the towns in which the two men were born. President Clinton was born in a town with a population of 9,643. Vice President Gore was born to a town with a population of less than 2,000. When the two men spoke of empowering communities to build a brighter economic future or the need to "leave no American behind," there was never any question that building a brighter future for rural America was a core element of that vision.

When the Clinton Administration took office, rural America was still experiencing the effects of a significant economic downturn that stemmed from the collapse of the farm economy in the mid-1980s and a simultaneous decline in the energy production, mining, and manufacturing economies of rural areas. Rural America was experiencing double-digit unemployment and double-digit poverty rates (with rural minority poverty rates nearing 50 percent). One in three rural white children did not graduate from high school; the figure jumped to three out of four rural African-American and Hispanic children. Housing was inadequate for the rural working poor, and nearby quality health care was not available to large segments of the rural population. Some 3 million rural residents did not have running water in their homes.

Hope began to return to rural America when it quite literally arrived at the White House, when Bill Clinton—son of Hope, Arkansas—and Al Gore—son of Carthage, Tennessee—became the President and Vice President of the United States.

¹¹ Town populations reflect city statistics for the year 2000.

President Clinton and Vice President Gore knew that employment in a growing economy is the best social program available and the best means of solving less than favorable economic conditions. But they also recognized that in rural America a significantly greater investment in infrastructure, housing, and business opportunities was needed to provide the conditions in which the economy could grow and families could begin to prosper. One of the first initiatives of the Clinton Administration was to increase investment through these programs. By fiscal year 2001, the appropriations for these programs, despite the fiscal constraints imposed by the Administration's commitment to a balanced budget, exceeded \$12 billion.

Reaching the Underserved

In 1994, Under Secretary for Rural Development Bob Nash issued a new policy to the entire rural development mission area. It identified as an Administration priority the need to focus resources and assistance on the more than 500 "persistent-poverty" counties that had faced more than three decades of poverty rates higher than 20 percent. The memorandum also gave priority to areas suffering the economic consequences of changes in Federal policy, for example towns where military bases had closed or where timber harvest quotas had been reduced. This policy recognized the fact that those communities most in need of rural development assistance from USDA were often least equipped to successfully navigate the process of receiving Government grants and other financial assistance. To overcome this hurdle, Nash called on the various USDA rural development agencies to offer technical advice and other assistance to these communities, in an effort at "capacity-building" to improve the communities' ability to successfully pursue the funding they need from various Government agencies.

Improved Service to Native Americans

Native Americans, be they on Reservations, in Native Alaskan villages, or on Hawaiian Homelands, have historically been some of the most economically depressed populations in this country. The reasons are many and the solutions are complex. Prior to 1993 USDA Rural Development had a very limited amount of programs being accessed by Native Americans. Since 1993, Rural Development has made a concerted effort to more efficiently target limited resources to those most in need. The following are examples of significant initiatives adopted by Rural Development to ensure greater participation by Native Americans:

- Officially recognizing the sovereignty of Native American Tribes with respect to hiring on construction projects financed by USDA in 1996. These rights were previously unrecognized.
- Securing a provision in the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 that requires Rural Development State Offices to develop a statewide rural development plan that incorporates Native American governments.
- Carried out President Clinton's Executive Order 13021 that required Rural Development to develop a strategic plan to address the needs of Tribal Colleges and Universities.
- Identified barriers hindering access to USDA rural housing services and implemented reforms to erase the barriers, such as: publishing a resource guide to lending in Indian country, and providing technical assistance grants to train Native American applicants in the responsibilities of homeownership.

- Established funding reserves for Native Americans in several Rural Development agencies. As a result, USDA's Rural Housing Service, Rural Business-Cooperative Service, and Rural Utilities Service increased funding for Native Americans almost 10-fold, from \$10 million in 1992 to \$95 million in 1999.

USDA Answers the Call in Indian Country

In an effort to carry out the Clinton Administration directive to reach traditionally underserved rural populations, improving basic services in Indian Country quickly became a priority. While 97 percent of all American homes have telephone service, only 50 percent of Native American homes have this same basic convenience. One USDA success story that truly exemplifies the Clinton-Gore difference relates to the San Carlos Apaches, in San Carlos, Arizona. Before the tribe-owned telephone cooperative received a USDA loan to finance a modern telecommunications system, only 25 percent of the homes in the 2,854 square mile reservation had telephone service. To make matters worse, the town of 3,000 people only had one pay telephone. According to Velasquez Sneezy, vice chairman of the Tribal Telecommunications Utility, "people would start lining up at 6 a.m. to use the phone, and the line did not go away until after midnight." Thanks to a loan from USDA's Rural Utilities Service, "we now have the best telecommunications equipment to be found in the country." Now parents can call a doctor when a child is sick to discuss symptoms and determine if a long trip into town is necessary.

Forming Partnerships with Minority Colleges and Universities

Another key Administration theme was using partnerships to leverage the work of the lean, results-oriented Government they were creating. In USDA's efforts to better serve historically underserved communities, the Department was quick to recognize the value of strong partnerships with historically African-American colleges and universities, Hispanic Serving Institutions, and Tribal land-grant community colleges. Through these partnerships, USDA Rural Development effectively communicated the availability of Federal resources and helped improve the economic outlook and quality of life in many historically underserved communities. Examples include:

Since the beginning of the Clinton Administration, USDA's Rural Business-Cooperative Service worked with 1890s Institutions to build their capacity to provide business and cooperative development assistance to rural communities, agriculture producers, and other organizations serving rural areas. Between 1993 and 2000, \$27.6 million was invested in this effort.

- Since the beginning of the Administration's Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community (EZ/EC) Initiative, Rural Development entered into cooperative agreements with various institutions of higher education to build their capacity to better serve the populations they work with and to develop interest among their students in the profession of community and economic development. Many of these institutions also provided help to local EZ/ECs in pursuing Government assistance. For example:

The Fort Peck Community College in Montana, a tribal college, established an internship to help local groups and individuals develop business plans and apply for grants to support tribal businesses. They also provided guidance that helped a tribally owned business from closing. They also headed an effort to develop a tribal technology plan to

serve schools, businesses and residences and offered technology, business and management courses for farmers and ranchers that are compatible with their schedules.

California State University, at Fresno, a Hispanic Serving Institution, helped Central California Onion secure a \$125,000 loan for renovations and equipment and to establish a processing and distribution facility to expand the business and double the number of employees. CSU-Fresno also provided technical assistance in establishing a bilingual call center that, for example, negotiated a contract with a private Hispanic-owned firm to provide credit card marketing services for a major financial institution.

Ensuring 21st Century Opportunity in Rural Areas

President Clinton, Secretary Espy and Secretary Glickman all shared a deep commitment to bringing about a rebirth of the rural American Dream. They also recognized what a significant challenge that goal represented. With millions of Americans still lacking basic 20th century services, such as running water in the home or a doctor in a 100-mile radius of their town, the Administration understood that a massive commitment of resources was necessary because their goal was not only to deliver basic services, but to encourage local communities to work together and develop strategies to ensure their 21st century success.

Water 2000

One of the first initiatives of the Clinton Administration was to ensure that every resident of rural America had safe, clean running water within their homes. While it is difficult for urban and suburban Americans to comprehend that in the 21st century there are still families without clean, safe drinking water in their homes, at the time the initiative was developed, more than 3 million rural Americans had no running water in their homes. By 2000, more than \$3 billion had been invested in Water 2000 projects across the country. The project was ultimately expanded to also assist residents experiencing significant water quality or quantity problems. In the end, the historic investment provided clean, safe drinking water to 3.1 million rural residents. Two examples of Water 2000 projects illustrate the benefits.

- West Holmes, Mississippi, is a small, predominantly African-American community that tried for 7 years to get water for its residents. Many residents drove 3-4 miles to obtain water for drinking and cooking. The existing water supply was full of rust, which was unsafe to drink, caused plumbing problems and ruined appliances. "We have some neighbors who cannot cook white rice without hauling water from a neighborhood well. Rice turned brown when cooked in the existing water supply. We will not have to haul water anymore thanks to a grant and loan from USDA."
- Villa Ridge, Illinois was one of the earliest projects funded under Water 2000. One senior citizen resident, Mildred Grace, a senior citizen paid \$80 monthly to have water hauled and placed in her cistern for bathing, laundry, and other cleaning. She also paid \$20 monthly for bottled drinking water. This \$100 she paid for water was one-third of her monthly Social Security check -- her only source of income. Following completion of the Water 2000 project, Mildred Grace's total water bill was reduced to just \$20 per month.

EZ Does It: One Community's Story

In 1993, the landscape in Jackson, Clinton, and Wayne counties featured spectacular beauty, rugged hills, and scenic vistas. But that scenery was marred by double-digit unemployment and few economic opportunities. Then, in December 1994, President Clinton announced that one of three rural empowerment zones in the country would be coming to the Kentucky Highlands.

Thanks to the EZ/EC effort, more than \$150 million was invested in the area--\$40 million from USDA. As part of its efforts, USDA provided \$3.5 million to expand a hospital, \$6 million to increase to 95 percent the number of residents with safe, running water at home, and a \$5-million loan guarantee to expand Mid-South Electronics which now employs 1,000 people. Perhaps the biggest success story was the boom sparked in the local houseboat industry. Since the EZ designation, the number of houseboat manufacturers in the area doubled, increasing its employment in the area by 70 percent. As a result of this concentrated, community-led effort, per capita income in the empowerment zone rose 17.9 percent and employment climbed 20 percent. And, in the fall of 1999, the area made history--achieving its lowest unemployment level ever--a mere 3.7 percent--which is far below the state and national averages.

Pacific Northwest Economic Adjustment Initiative

When the Clinton Administration made the decision to bar timber harvests in spotted owl habitat in the Pacific Northwest, it made a firm commitment to help diversify the region's economies, which had been largely dependent on the timber industry. USDA Rural Development led the initiative, which marshaled resources from throughout the Federal Government. From 1994 to 2000, 12 Federal agencies delivered \$1.2 billion in economic revitalization and other assistance to the Pacific Northwest. This massive undertaking involved State and local government, but it was driven by local residents. As a result of this "ground-up" strategy, the economies of most rural communities affected by the protection of environmentally sensitive forest areas stabilized and turned around. This initiative also confirmed the power of two key beliefs of the Clinton Administration - that when Federal, State and local agencies combine their resources toward a common objective, they succeed; and, that when local residents are given the power to guide the efforts to keep them focused on local needs, then government can be more effective in solving real-world community challenges. This same commitment to locally led economic adjustment efforts was extended to communities surrounding the Tongass National Forest in 1999.

Colonias

The Colonias Initiative, born in 1990, was expanded into a sweeping initiative under the Clinton Administration. This effort took aim at the serious health problems caused by the lack of adequate water supply and waste disposal in unincorporated "shanty" towns surrounding the Mexican border in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In the Colonias, the living conditions were often wretched and the health problems were serious. Since 1994 the Clinton Administration invested \$156 million to provide clean safe drinking water and sanitary sewerage for more than 100,000 residents of these villages. USDA also spent an additional \$15.6 million improving homes to facilitate connections to water and sewer systems. An additional \$49 million in new home construction was also financed in these areas.

Empowerment Zones/Enterprise Communities (EZ/EC)

The major community economic development initiative of the Clinton Administration was ratified by the Empowerment Zone/Enterprise Community legislation of 1994. Rather than providing funding through a set of narrowly focused programs to assist communities in building various types of individual projects, this initiative called on designated communities to develop their own broad economic development strategies tailored to their specific needs. The communities used an initial Federal block grant as "seed money" for their long-term investment strategy and then leveraged other funds from a variety of sources, including various Federal agencies. In other words, rather than dictate what the communities should do, the Clinton Administration simply provided advisory and technical support, as well as resources, to support the community-based efforts. In rural America, eight rural areas were designated as Empowerment Zones and 50 rural communities were named as Enterprise Communities.

The EZ/EC concept was proven very successful. Between 1995 and 2000, some of the Nation's most poverty stricken rural communities used less than \$150 million in Federal seed money to leverage \$2 billion in funding. With this massive influx of resources, the communities established 410 new businesses; created or retained 18,000 jobs; served 26,000 residents through business development and job training initiatives; helped build or renovate 3,200 houses, and brought water, sewer systems, electricity, and telecommunications to places that never before had these basic services.

The Clinton-Gore EZ/EC Initiative clearly demonstrated that local residents can be a powerful driving force behind the economic turnaround of their communities. Historically, Federal assistance has been a notoriously top-down prescription focused on addressing a single problem, rather than offering a holistic approach to delivering long-term benefits to a specific community. Not only have the EZ/EC communities demonstrated their capacity to change their economic destiny. In many cases, the communities that carried out the planning, but did not get a designation, also followed through with their strategies and were successful in expanding opportunities and the quality of life for their people.

Developing the Economies of the Southwest Border

The Southwest border, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific, has one of the highest levels of endemic poverty in the Nation. For more than half a century, these rural areas have experienced long-term unemployment, inadequate infrastructure, severe poverty, environmental degradation, and economic disparity. President Clinton and Vice President Gore determined the area needed special attention and the Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Cities in the four States accepted a challenge from the Vice President to reach beyond their boundaries and involve other communities in the development of a regional strategic plan. As a result, the Southwest Border Regional Partnership was born. The initiative directs Federal agencies to cooperate with State and local governments and other organizations, public and private, to revitalize the region. While this effort was launched during the later years of the Clinton Administration, it is expected to continue the EZ/EC record of success and help the people and communities of the Southwest Border share in the Nation's unprecedented economic success.

Bridging the Rural Digital Divide

Given the explosive growth of the information-based economy, the Clinton-Gore Administration was deeply committed to ensuring that rural America had every opportunity to participate in the strong economic opportunities presented by the digital economy. Between 1993 and 2000, USDA's Rural Utilities Service provided more than \$2 billion in financing for rural telecommunications systems. For many years, it also required that these telecommunications improvements use only fiberoptic cable, in order to ensure the upgrades could accommodate the demands of high-speed data transmission.

The Administration also worked hard to ensure that all schools, regardless of size or location, can offer students access to the Internet and the world of information and resources it provides. With the deregulation of the telecommunications industry in the mid-1990s, there was deep concern that the concept of universal service--which for decades ensured rural America had access to affordable telecommunications service--would be compromised. Thanks to the Administration's advocacy, the Telecommunications Act of 1996 authorized the Education Rate Program to ensure schools can offer students access to the Internet and other telecommunications-driven educational tool. The "E-rate" is financed by a small charge on individual telephone bills.

Distance Learning and Telemedicine

The focus of the Clinton-Gore White House on the power of the Internet and the information revolution drew the attention of the Nation to the possibilities of the new digital age. Secretary Glickman summed up the vision of President Clinton and Vice President Gore this way:

"They understand the unique challenges facing rural America--sparse populations, remote locations, lack of infrastructure--and they understand that we must work hard today to ensure that we step into the next century as one America -- where all our people have safe, running water in their homes and first-rate education and health care in their communities. Just a few years ago, that vision for our country's future would be dismissed as utopian fantasy. But today, technology is giving us the means to make this dream a reality for all our citizens -- even those who live in the most remote Alaskan village or on the Louisiana bayou. Together, we are reaching for a day when geography is no boundary."¹

Secretary Glickman was referring to USDA's distance/learning telemedicine program, which for years had been using increasingly sophisticated technologies to deliver to remote rural areas everything from virtual Advanced Placement classrooms to on-line medical consultations between rural citizens and specialists in big-city hospitals. While the program predated 1993, its funding and profile were dramatically elevated by an Administration that believed deeply in its importance.

President Clinton's USDA invested \$83 million in 300 distance learning and telemedicine efforts across the country. As a result, several hundred thousand rural students gained access to education courses not otherwise available to them and hundreds of thousands of rural residents were provided access to higher quality medical care than would otherwise have been inaccessible.

Homeownership and New Partnerships

The Clinton Administration worked diligently to increase the rate of homeownership in this country to the highest levels ever, including in rural America. Homeownership is a major economic stimulus. It also engenders community stability and pride. In 2000, the homeownership rate for the Nation stood at 67 percent. In rural areas the homeownership rate is 75 percent. About 10 million families have become homeowners since the

President took office. Between 1993 and 2000, USDA's Rural Housing Service financed about 350,000 single-family homes in rural communities across the country.

In order to leverage limited resources, USDA's Rural Housing Service formed a partnership with the Local Initiative Support Corporation and the Federal Home Loan Bank system to provide opportunities

¹ Remarks to the Louisiana State University Medical Center, October, 21, 1997.

to leverage USDA loans with the resources of local banks and local Community Development Corporations. In 1996, 9 partnerships were formed and financing was provided for 37 families. In 2000, the number of partnerships grew to 177 providing financing for 1,320 homes. These partnerships enabled USDA's Rural Housing Service to increase its funding by 33 percent. Similar partnerships were formed with the Department of Treasury and Community Development Financial Institutions.

A subset of the President's homeownership initiative is USDA's Mutual and Self-Help Housing Program, which provides grants to nonprofit organizations to assist families that cannot qualify for a loan, even on the most generous terms. Under the program, a group of about 10 families agree to help each other build their homes—literally earning "sweat equity." Construction of the homes is then financed through USDA rural housing programs. By the time construction is complete the family can easily have \$15,000 worth of equity in their home and can afford to finance the balance thanks to all the saved labor costs. Although the program is a longstanding one, the strong commitment of the Clinton Administration to increased homeownership in America resulted in program funding more than tripling in the Clinton-Gore years.

Child Care

To assist in the successful transition from welfare to work in rural America, USDA followed the direction given at President Clinton's White House Conference on Child Care, and intensified its efforts to promote and finance child care facilities in small rural communities. Prior to 1993, USDA had financed a few facilities, but childcare was not a high priority. Since President Clinton took office, the Rural Housing Service invested more than \$65 million in 237 childcare facilities, providing affordable care to more than 20,000 children in the poorest rural communities.

Cooperative Business Financing

In response to the drastic decline in prices for agricultural commodities, USDA Rural Development increased emphasis on financing farmer-owned cooperative business ventures. These co-ops help increase farmers' share of the food dollar and mitigate the loss of farm income that so many rural communities depend on. Since 1998, more than \$150 million in loans has been guaranteed through USDA's business and industry loan guarantee program, and the demand for such financial assistance is growing, as is the interest in creating new cooperatives throughout the agricultural community. Additionally, President Clinton included in his 2001 budget a proposal to create a cooperative equity fund to provide the initial equity investment needed when agricultural prices are depressed and farmers have little equity to invest in order to create a co-op.

Lower Mississippi Delta

As Governor of Arkansas, President Clinton was Chairman of the Lower Mississippi Delta Commission when it developed a report on the socioeconomic status of people living in the 219 counties from Illinois through Louisiana. That report described endemic poverty, high rates of unemployment, lack of physical infrastructure, lack of health care, lack of adequate housing, and a general lack of economic opportunity. As President, he placed a strong emphasis was placed at USDA on addressing the Delta's woes. Between 1993 and 2000, the Rural Development Mission Area invested nearly \$4 billion in the region. In addition, many areas within the Delta were designated as Empowerment Zones or Enterprise Communities. Through these efforts, many of the problems initially reported by the Commission were eliminated, and residents of the Delta have much more economic opportunity than was available a decade ago. While much remains to be done in the Delta, the progress made to date is evidence that these problems can be addressed and the longstanding, persistent poverty of an area can be reversed.

During the period of President Clinton's focus, unemployment in the region declined from 7.5 percent in 1993 to 4.2 percent in 1999, with 184 of the counties experiencing job growth. Since 1993, USDA helped 43,000 Delta residents buy or improve their homes. USDA community facilities, water and waste disposal programs, and rural business programs provided \$850 million in additional help. USDA also provided first-time telephone service to 8,200 Delta residents and improved service to 77,000 residents.

An additional 800,000 residents were served through either USDA distance learning or telemedicine projects.

A New Day on the Delta

Thanks to President Clinton's commitment – manifested in the eight rural Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities designated in the Mississippi Delta – real progress is underway:

- ☐ 2,133 new jobs created
- ☐ 24 new job training programs trained 5,000 area residents
- ☐ 65 new youth programs served 6,500 youth
- ☐ 21 educational facilities built or upgraded
- ☐ 6 health care facilities built or upgraded
- ☐ 29 computer learning centers established
- ☐ 2,193 upgraded computers donated from Federal surplus
- ☐ 21 revolving loan or micro-lending funds established
- ☐ 28 new water or waste plants under construction

International Activities

Given the success of USDA's rural development efforts in improving the quality of life and economic opportunities across rural America, the Clinton Administration was deeply committed to sharing this knowledge, as well as strategies and resources with countries around the world.

Creating Village Banks in South Africa

Since 1996, USDA's Rural Business Service worked with the U.S. Agency for International Development to help the government of South Africa create a network of village banks throughout rural South Africa. This effort was aimed at building a financial foundation within each village to provide financial services and generate capital for local investment. USDA provided legal, regulatory and organizational technical assistance in the creation of 50 village banks in South Africa. In addition to this landmark effort, USDA also helped South Africa with a host of other projects, ranging from agribusiness/extension, to women and youth development, to agricultural risk management, to agricultural statistics services. Through these efforts, USDA aided the Clinton Administration's efforts to help build a strong economic future for the new South Africa and its many rural agricultural communities.

International Conference on Women in Agriculture

At the request of President Clinton, Jill Long Thompson, USDA's Under Secretary for Rural Development, represented the United States at the International Conference on Women in

Agriculture. In 1997, the United States hosted the Conference in Washington, DC, bringing women from all over the world together to discuss their roles in improving the lives of farm families around the world, growing the productivity of agriculture, and strengthening the role of agriculture in the community and economic development of rural areas. Tipper Gore and Secretary Glickman were both featured speakers at the conference, which many believed to have been the largest gathering of women agricultural leaders ever.

Reinvention

The 1994 reorganization of the Department of Agriculture presented a particular challenge to USDA's Rural Development mission area. As the staff size declined by one-third from 1993 to 2000, the rural development agencies were asked to administer a 51-percent increase in program dollars. They say "necessity is the mother of invention." That may well explain Rural Development's leadership at reinvention.

Centralized Servicing Center

A major reinvention effort undertaken as part of Vice President Gore's "reinventing government" initiative at USDA was the centralization of servicing of its direct single-family housing loan portfolio of 675,000 loans. Prior to this effort, servicing activities were undertaken in each of the more than 1,500 county rural development offices. This activity consumed the time of about one-third of Rural Development's 9,300 employees. It was a grossly inefficient and costly process, and customer service was inconsistent because different offices interpreted servicing regulations differently. To make matters worse, escrow service for property taxes and insurance was not available. Centralizing this portfolio was the largest conversion of servicing activity ever attempted by the mortgage industry—either public or private. It saved taxpayers \$250 million in its first 5 years, improved customer service immensely, and freed 900 USDA employees for reassignment to other high-priority rural development work.

Data Warehouse

At the beginning of the Clinton Administration, USDA Rural Development was totally dependent on paper reports generated by its finance office in St. Louis. The majority of the information was transaction-based accounting reports, which shed little light on policy or management decisions unless reformatted through ad-hoc reports. The situation was further complicated by the mission area's large field office structure, which meant that each location needed information on their loan portfolios. This made the process and cost of generating paper reports substantial. Rural Development policy officials determined that a data warehousing effort was the solution. Today, this web-based system provides the ability to query, report, and analyze data from a variety of sources. When fully implemented it will bring to each employee's desk immediate access to data they need to perform their jobs well.

Conclusion

The Clinton years were invigorating years for those who were advocates of improving the rural quality of life and seeing more of America's country communities share in the historic economic expansion that took place across our country in the 1990s. From bringing safe running water into the homes of millions who had never had it before, to connecting rural towns to 21st century

opportunities in the information economy, to empowering rural communities to control their own financial destiny—with the Federal Government as a strong supporting partner to their efforts, this Administration left a strong legacy in rural areas across the country. Without a doubt, that legacy was driven by a commitment from the top, from two sons of rural America who never forgot where they came from. It is the legacy of Hope.

7. Reorganization and Innovation

FDR's Machine Gets Lean and Focused

"After years of leaders whose rhetoric attacked bureaucracy but whose actions expanded it, we will actually reduce it by 252,000 people over the next five years. By the time we have finished, the Federal bureaucracy will be at its lowest point in 30 years."

President Bill Clinton

1994 State of the Union Address

"We want to try to foster a different attitude within the USDA bureaucracy, to transition it from a Department that is of agriculture, to a Department which is for agriculture. We want USDA's agencies to be action oriented, not acronym oriented. We want them to be organized around ... missions or goals (seven) things, if you will, that we plan to do really, really well."

Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy

1994 Farm Credit Remarks

Around Washington, there is a famous joke regarding USDA: A tourist is walking down the street in Washington, DC, and sees a man sitting on the sidewalk crying. The tourist sits down next to the sobbing man, and asks why he is so upset. The man turns to him and says, "I work at the Department of Agriculture, and today my farmer died." This is a joke frequently told by tour guides as they drive their buses past the Department's headquarters. While the joke grossly misrepresents the work that takes place at USDA, as with most humor there is a nugget of truth. In this instance, the kernel of truth is that when President Clinton and Vice President Gore took office, nearly 130,000 employees worked for the Department of Agriculture. At the same time, there were approximately 2.2 million farms in the United States.

The ratio of approximately 18:1 sounds shocking--if one doesn't understand the true scope of USDA--if you don't know, for instance, that about half of the USDA budget is dedicated to fighting hunger in America and that half of the employees work in the Forest Service. USDA's duties span not only farm policy, but hunger and nutrition, forestry, international trade, rural development and other programs.

In 1993, USDA was a vast, sprawling Department with offices in virtually all of the Nation's 3,150 counties (even the urban ones). As President Clinton and Vice President Gore vowed to "reinvent" Government, cutting its size while improving its efficiency and effectiveness in order to build a Government that "works better and costs less"--no Department was more ripe for change, and no Department would more test their resolve--than USDA.

In other words, to achieve the goal it ultimately did achieve--the smallest Federal Government since the Kennedy Administration--the Clinton Administration would have to reorganize a Department that had successfully resisted fundamental change for decades. By the end of the process, USDA was nearly 23,000 positions leaner, reorganized around real-world missions such as food safety, farm and foreign

agriculture services and rural development, and carrying out an on-going campaign – under the banner of Vice President Gore’s reinventing Government efforts – to produce a more efficient and less bureaucratic USDA.

USDA’S Decentralized Structure

Beyond the sprawling mission and size of the Department, USDA’s notoriously Byzantine ways (reflected in the bafflingly complex U.S. farm policy that had been in place since the Great Depression) were deeply entrenched. While many Federal departments have a history that dates back less than 50 years, USDA was founded during the war (not World War II, not World War I, but the *Civil War*). This bureaucracy had dealt with reform-minded politicians before ... and the bureaucracy had always won.

One particular reason the challenge of reorganizing USDA was so complex was the Department’s unique, decentralized nature. As the General Accounting Office observed in 1991, USDA has "one of the largest most decentralized field structures in the Federal Government. The structure is a reflection of the era in which it was established – the 1930s, when communication and transportation systems were greatly limited by geographic boundaries."

While the need to modernize this archaic approach made sense on an intellectual level, on a political level it was a whole other ball game--hardball. Cutting the size of the Department and streamlining its operations would inevitably include staff reductions and office closings out in farm country--uprooting the Federal presence and eliminating jobs in small rural communities across the country. While Americans, generally, were all for smaller Government, they typically wanted the downsizing to occur in someone else’s community. In many ways, the politics of streamlining USDA offices paralleled the difficult challenge of military base closures that the Clinton Administration also tackled in the 1990s.

The history of how USDA became a decentralized bureaucracy helps illuminate the political complexity of scaling back the Department’s size. In 1993, the Department had offices in virtually every county across the country. A full 90 percent employees worked outside the Washington, DC, area in some 10,000 field offices across the country and around the world. The primary argument for this decentralized structure was that local employees enabled a one-to-one relationship with farmers, rural communities, and other constituents in order to tailor U.S. farm policy, conservation, and rural development program to local circumstances.

Without a doubt that is the primary value of the field presence, but it is not the reason it was created. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established the county offices in the 1930s, so he could create foot soldiers across the country for his New Deal programs--building a national grassroots political machine with a powerful presence in every county in the country. Seventy years later, this FDR legacy offered a doubled-edge sword--tailored Federal programs and a deeply entrenched, politically powerful resistance to change.

The 1991 General Accounting Office (GAO) report delicately explained it this way:

"Farmer-organized districts implemented soil conservation plans; locally elected farmer committees rather than bureaucrats oversaw the county offices that administered Federal program benefits and farmer payments. USDA is one of only a very few Federal entities that have direct, day-to-day, personal contact with their constituents, and in key programs, the Department is managed at the grass-roots level by its constituents. Although successful in

making USDA responsive to its clients, the heavy constituent involvement has been criticized by some as the reason for the difficulty in instituting the reforms."

What's in a Name?

Beyond the true bloat at USDA, the Department also persistently faced the *perception* of bloat. After all, in the conventional wisdom, USDA is the "Department for farmers."

While this is true, the Department also performs many other vital tasks. What causes the confusion? Many point to the name—the U.S. Department of *Agriculture*. In fact, while a member of Congress and in his early days in the Administration, Secretary Glickman put forward a spirited argument to change USDA's name to the Department of Food, Nutrition and Agriculture. While clearly a more accurate reflection of the true breadth of the work done across the country and around the world, the proposal met a brick wall of resistance put up by members of Congress with large agricultural constituencies. They worried that the heart of the Department—production agriculture—would be lost. They also worried that the name change would further sever the connection between the food in our suburban grocery stores and the farms and ranches that produce it.

Although this effort to rename USDA failed, Glickman was determined to raise awareness about the true breadth of the Department's work. It became a standard mantra in virtually every speech he would give for his 6 years as Agriculture Secretary. In his typical down-to-earth style, whether speaking to leading business groups or schoolchildren, Glickman would share some variation of the following about his own experience making the transition from a member of Congress to a member of President Clinton's cabinet:

"The biggest surprise coming from Congress was the sheer magnitude of the Department and the diversity of things USDA does. I went from managing a staff of about 20 to more than 100,000. I went from focusing on wheat and cattle—the agricultural mainstays of my Congressional district—to focusing on not just all of agriculture, but world trade, the environment, food safety, hunger, research and rural America. As Secretary of Agriculture, I run the U.S. Forest Service; Smokey Bear works for me. I run the entire Federal antihunger effort, everything from food stamps to school lunches. I'm responsible for ensuring quality health care and education in remote rural towns, and for bringing safe, running water to home and whole communities that never had it before. I run the largest conservation program in the United States—paying private landowners to protect fragile acres, and the wildlife that depend on it. I'm in charge of food safety. Right now, I'm overseeing the largest overhaul of our meat and poultry inspections since Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*. Because agriculture is a leading positive contributor to the U.S. trade balance, I'm also heavily involved in trade debates."

Throughout Glickman's tenure as Agriculture Secretary, he shared these basic facts about USDA. For 6 years, he never tired of the chore because his explanation never ceased to surprise his audience. Afterwards, Glickman would typically add that "no Federal department has a greater capacity to positively impact the life of every American every day." As a former member of Congress, Glickman understood that unless more Americans knew the true scope and value of USDA's vital work, than the tax dollars that funded it would be in jeopardy.

Momentum Makes the Difference

On October 13, 1994, President Clinton signed into law the Department of Agriculture Reorganization Act. This capped off a massive effort at USDA, in the White House, and in the Congress to overcome a wall of bureaucratic inertia and overt resistance to change.

The legislative effort occurred on the watch of Secretary Espy, but it was driven in part by legislative efforts of then-Congressman Dan Glickman, of Kansas, who served on the House Agriculture Committee. The future agriculture secretary put forward his own proposal in 1992 that would merge all of USDA's farm programs into one "farm services" entity, would streamline county offices and reduce staff in Washington, DC—all moves that were included in the final Clinton Administration reform.

The difference between earlier failed efforts at reform and the Clinton Administration's successful drive was largely the momentum for change. In 1992, the Kansas City Star won a Pulitzer Prize for its series revealing the mass challenges and inefficiencies created by USDA's archaic structure. The opening headline for the series read, "Betrayals and Blunders at the Department of Agriculture." The ensuing articles launched a year of critical press coverage and GAO reports on the management of USDA revealed significant weaknesses in the Department's structure, massive inefficiencies in the allocation of administrative resources, and a grave lack of accountability for the activities of county-based employees. These reports produced a public clamor for change and, for the first time, gave the upper hand to reformers over those who favored the status quo.

An Intense Effort on Capitol Hill

Armed with this strong mandate for change, one of Mike Espy's first actions as Agriculture Secretary was to convene a conference of Department officials to take a fresh look at USDA's organization. This conference led to the proposal for a new structure—for both the headquarters and the field—that would be far more efficient and effective. The proposal also called for the Department to be reorganized around concrete "missions": Rural Development; Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services; Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services; Natural Resources and the Environment; Research, Education and Economics; Marketing and Inspection Programs; and Departmental Administration.

Espy endorsed the plan and its ambitious reach. Without a doubt, this would be the biggest overhaul of the Department in its history. Because change on this order of magnitude required the consent of the Congress, Espy transformed the plan into a legislative proposal. He also made the crucial decision to merge two related plans: (1) the reorganization plan which would restructure the Department and (2) a streamlining plan, which would carry out President Clinton's call for smaller, more effective Government. By merging the plans, Espy now had one powerful proposal that would not only make the Department more efficient, it also would save taxpayers \$4 billion over 5 years.

The Department's legislative package was submitted to the Congress on September 27, 1993, (H.R.3171) with the hope that the general momentum toward Government reinvention and downsizing would drive its quick enactment. This hope was promptly dashed by entrenched interests in Congress that expressed wariness with the sweeping nature of the Department's proposals. Deputy Secretary Rich Rominger, who was charged with delivering this vital legislative victory, stepped back and opted for a more methodical approach. He and his team spent the Autumn of 1993 making the case for the plan to the various Congressional Committees.

To convey the substance of their proposal, the Department created a 100-page document entitled "USDA Reorganization Implementation: Key Facts and Projections Briefing Book." The material was placed in a white binder and became known both in the Department and on the Hill as the "White Book." It provided organization charts, descriptions of every aspect of the reorganization, how it would occur and what it would deliver, and five-year projections of budget savings and personnel reductions.

This level of detail and the case it made for significant savings and improved service re-sparked momentum for the plan. It gave substance to the Department's proposals and allowed USDA officials to respond to questions with specifics. The White Book, and the effort to share its contents, also helped convince a critical mass of decisionmakers that the Department was sincere in its attempt to reduce overhead without hindering vital USDA services and programs.

The cost-savings in the end were the deciding factor. Espy, Rominger, and their Congressional allies made clear that smaller, leaner Government brought with it smaller, leaner budgets. Congress could either cut fat—by reorganizing and eliminating inefficiencies—or cut muscle—by taking benefits away from farmers, hungry families, rural communities, and others. Espy, in particular, made a passionate case that if USDA's budget were to go down and the Department was not reorganized, then all who rely on USDA to help ensure safe, abundant affordable food would bear the brunt of the budget cuts. Why not instead, Espy argued, streamline and reorganize USDA to work more efficiently. The Clinton Administration maintained that it was in everyone's interest to reorganize USDA to protect the vital benefits it provided.

At the beginning of 1994, the Secretary and other key Departmental officials met individually with Senators, Members of Congress and their staff members who would play a key role in determining the fate of the legislation. Many in Congress who had long craved real reform became emboldened by the growing momentum. Hearings were held, staff briefings were provided, and the Department responded to hundreds of Congressional questions.

The Major Debates

The concerns dealt primarily with the three key aspects of the plan: 1) restoring broad authority to the Secretary of Agriculture to manage and organize the Department, 2) organizing USDA programs into six mission areas, and 3) providing additional power to the Secretary over the management of USDA field offices:

Secretarial Control

Congress passed a series of "reorganization plans" in the early 1950s, which provided each cabinet officer with general authority to manage and organize their department. But between 1953 and 1993, a growing level of distrust between Congress and the Executive Branch led Congress to severely limit the Secretary's authority over particular aspects of the Department. For example, without the permission of Congress, the Secretary could not merge farm programs into one farm services agency. USDA's proposal to restore broad authority to the Secretary reignited Congressional concerns. It quickly became clear that the Department would not be able to generate the political support necessary in Congress to permanently restore these powers. Congress repeatedly expressed concerns that while Secretary Espy might honor promises for how

he would wield this broad authority, there was no assurance what future secretaries would do. Ultimately, a compromise was agreed to which offered the broad authority for 2 years, on the condition that USDA fulfill the promised savings and other goals that the Secretary vowed to use these powers to achieve.

Mission Structure

The Department's proposal would reorganize USDA activities into six mission areas: farm and international trade services; rural economic and community development; food, nutrition, and consumer services; natural resources and the environment; marketing and inspection services; and research, education, and economics. This proposal sparked a debate in Congress that echoed the debate within USDA when Espy first convened department leaders to discuss reorganization. For instance, there was a prolonged debate about whether food safety functions could appropriately be included in a mission charged with marketing U.S. food and fiber. This apparent conflict of interest was resolved when USDA added a seventh mission area—a separate, independent food safety agency staffed with public health experts.

The most strident debate over the mission structure had to do with the decentralized nature of the Department which for decades had ensured a very high level of local control over the delivery of programs—from farm loans to disaster payments. There was a great deal of concern that a mission-based structure would consolidate power in Washington, reduce program flexibility, and spark conflict between the new mission areas. The Department worked hard to convince all parties that its intentions were to organize programs in a more rational manner that made more efficient use of resources, rather than to impose a new layer of bureaucracy. In the end, these arguments prevailed due to the growing consensus that the status quo could not continue.

Field Delivery System

One key purpose of the reorganization was to give the Secretary authority to manage all USDA employees as a single workforce. This would accomplish a host of key advances from paving the way for more uniform civil rights accountability to clearing a path to close about 1,100 county-based field offices and consolidating their work into a series of "service centers" to be established throughout the country.

The debate concerning the field delivery system was quite specific. Issues included the procedures for choosing the supervisors of the new service centers, the geographic and program jurisdiction of those centers, union successorship, and the composition of the local committees which held great power in doling out funds for many USDA programs. The Department responded with detailed information, but also continued to press its basic argument: that the impact of budget reductions on a divided workforce was likely to be more severe than the impact of reductions on a unified workforce where there would be some flexibility to adjust resources to maintain services.

Ultimately, the legislation prevailed. In addition to establishing the seven mission areas, the Act also created two new offices: (1) the National Appeals Division, an independent organization to review adverse program decisions related to rural development, farm and conservation programs, and (2) the Office of Risk Assessment and Cost-Benefit Analysis, to analyze the risks, costs, and benefits of major regulations affecting human health, safety, or the environment.

The Real Challenge: Implementation

With the legislation signed into law, the Department now faced an even more daunting task—actually carrying out the reorganization. Once again, Deputy Secretary Rominger was tapped to lead the effort. The same day the President signed the reorganization legislation into law, Rominger established a group to coordinate its implementation. In one week, the new subcabinet—the leaders of each of the seven new mission areas—was in place.

In accordance with Espy's original strategy, the reorganization would occur on the same 5-year timeframe as the Department's streamlining, culminating in 1999 with a leaner USDA, a Department better organized to face modern challenges, and \$4 billion in savings for taxpayers.

Rominger and his team took every opportunity to go beyond the legislation to achieve greater efficiencies and cost-savings, primarily under the Clinton-Gore banner of "reinventing Government." Administrative and financial units within Mission Areas were consolidated. In accordance with the Administration-wide effort, USDA targeted middle-management and administrative staff for reductions. With these efforts in the mix, USDA was now looking at a full-scale restructuring of its operations in Washington, DC, and across the country. In accordance with the National Performance Review, guiding principles included delegation of authority, decentralization, empowerment of employees, holding managers accountable for performance, and promoting workforce diversity.

Carrying out the reorganization required a significant sustained effort by the Department, in close coordination with Congress, employees, and USDA constituents. There were some adjustments along the way. Two additional offices were created by the Congress: the Risk Management Agency—to help farmers better manage risks under the new U.S. farm policy enacted in 1996--and the Office of the Chief Information Officer--to focus the Department's efforts to harness the power of information technology to improve its services.

By the end of 1999, staff reductions were far higher than required by the Congress. Overall staffing was down 17.4 percent from 1993, as opposed to the planned 11.4 percent. Savings were greater than expected--\$6 billion. About 290 other offices were closed and consolidated into just over 2,600 Service Centers. About 3,700 county-based office locations of the Rural Development Mission Area, and the Farm Service Agency and Natural Resources and Conservation Service were colocated.

Unfortunately, plans to support the streamlined organization with infrastructure improvements have proceeded slowly, primarily due to lack of support from Congress. At Secretary Glickman's direction, the Service Center agencies developed plans to consolidate their administrative operations which involve activities such as personnel matters and payroll actions to further reduce overhead costs and direct more resources to program work. Yet for 2 years, Congress tucked language into its agriculture appropriations bills that barred the plan from moving forward. This battle was largely lost due to agency "turf" wars. Considering the magnitude of the resistance to simply merging administrative functions gives a

A Brief History of Field Office Colocations

Before the reorganization, farmers frequently made multiple trips to various USDA offices to complete one transaction. For example, a farmer might visit USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service to get certification of compliance with all conservation requirements. Then, he or she might have to get in his car again to take that certification to the local USDA Farm Services Agency office. If that farmer phoned one of the agencies to ask a question, that agency might not even be able to transfer the call to the other agency.

So when President Clinton sought ways to create a Government that "works better and costs less," USDA's field offices presented a fat target. As a result, legislation authorizing USDA's reorganization, included two common-sense provisions:

"Where practicable and to the extent consistent with efficient, effective, and improved service, the Secretary shall combine field offices of agencies within the Department to reduce personnel and duplicative overhead expenses."

"When two or more agencies of the Department share a common field office, the Secretary shall require the agencies to jointly use office space, equipment, office supplies, administrative personnel, and clerical personnel associated with that field office."

As a result, USDA merged nearly 3,700 local offices of the Farm Service Agency, Natural Resources Conservation Service and Rural Development mission area into "one-stop-shops," officially called USDA Service Centers. Under the new system, farmers walk down the hall rather than drive across the county to finish their USDA business. By September 2000, USDA's field structure was successfully consolidated into 2,625 Service Centers.

proper sense of just how big an accomplishment it was for the Administration to deliver the first major reorganization of the Department in 70 years.

Innovation

With the reorganization in place, President Clinton's USDA still recognized that much more could be done to improve the Department's services, particularly by harnessing the power of information technology, and forging stronger communications between employees and managers. What follows are just a few of the many illustrations of the concrete efforts that helped carry on the Department's work to deliver more efficient and effective service.

Bringing Greater Financial Accountability

When you run one of the largest departments in the Federal Government and you work for a President who has called for a Government "that works better and costs less," you have your work cut out for you. Essential to the Clinton Administration efforts to produce a leaner, more effective Government was the ability to generate timely, accurate information on where and how Federal resources are spent. Yet when the Administration came into office in 1993, USDA and other Federal agencies lacked the ability to deliver this accountability, due largely to a lack of integrated accounting and financial management systems.

Toward this end (and in compliance with the Chief Financial Officers Act of 1990), President Clinton's USDA established the Office of the Chief Financial Officer. By 2000, the Office made significant strides in resolving financial management weaknesses that had precluded USDA in the past from receiving a clean audit of its financial statements. The Office also enhanced financial accountability through strong strategic planning, including a timeline and budget to establish reliable corporate administrative systems throughout the Department. The Office also established a Foundation Financial Information System and a Financial Data Warehouse to allow for timely reports and monitoring of USDA expenditures of taxpayer dollars.

These efforts will help deliver far more financial accountability throughout USDA. These systems will also provide USDA leadership with timely information that helps them better manage the vast resources of a diverse Department. As USDA's reorganization produced a leaner Department, it will be increasingly critical for USDA to have strong systems to ensure that resources are responsibly and efficiently used to support key Department priorities.

Online Ethics Reporting: E-Government in Action

President Clinton and Vice President Gore's reinvention efforts often involved reduced paperwork. Typically, the beneficiaries of the innovation were USDA customers and partners, but one key paperwork reduction breakthrough benefited Government employees themselves.

The Ethics in Government Act requires more than 250,000 ranking Federal employees to annually divulge their financial assets, transactions, liabilities, and outside interests, in order to provide oversight against conflicts of interest. This reporting requirement was often considered the most onerous condition of being employed in a high Government position. Filers used pre-printed forms, and completed them by hand. Past efforts at computerizing the process required high levels of computer literacy, generally did not store the data to encourage easy updates, and

produced only hardcopy paper reports. As a result, distributing, reviewing, processing, and monitoring compliance was a costly, paper-intensive activity for every Federal department.

In 2000, the USDA Office of Ethics and the USDA National Finance Center (NFC) pooled their talents to reinvent this bureaucratic process. They developed a web-based financial disclosure system that is secure and simple to use. By using existing hardware, and exploiting the power of the Internet, the effort required very little expenditure and created a very responsive system.

The new system is hardware independent; it functions with all common browsers; and it is accessible from the office, home, or anywhere in the world via the Internet. The information also is highly secure. Information is stored on the NFC's tightly secured computer facility, is dependent on employee passwords, and is encrypted during transmission. Best of all, the U.S. Office of Government Ethics authorized other Federal departments to adopt this innovation.

Bridging the Labor-Management Divide

President Clinton's Administration understood that completing a true revolution in governance would require the cooperation of Federal employees and managers. President Clinton's USDA was a leader in forging labor-management cooperation. While previous labor-management relations had sometimes been contentious, a USDA Partnership Council was formed in December 1993. Comprised of seven union and seven management representatives, the Council met quarterly, using consensus decisionmaking to address issues of departmentwide significance. Local issues were handled by the more than 120 partnerships at the agency level.

The Council was involved in a myriad of diverse issues, ranging from day care to USDA's reorganization. A prime responsibility of the Council was encouraging labor-management cooperation and partnership in the nearly 100 bargaining units in USDA.

Prior to the establishment of the USDA Partnership Council, there was little, if any, contact between unions and management at the Department level. Even though two unions had national consultation rights with USDA, there was little dialogue between top management and unions. This drastically changed with the USDA Partnership Council. Top management and unions that represent USDA employees now regularly meet as members of the Council and tackle the tough issues facing the Department. Unions now have the opportunity to have input into Department decisions that will impact the work lives of employees.

Conclusion

From reorganizing one of the most complex and large departments in the Federal Government to using technology and other innovative partnerships to ensure a more efficient and effective Government, the Clinton Administration's commitment to reinventing Government is deeply evident in the new Department of Agriculture that it leaves behind. This legacy will be a lasting one. In an era of declining budgets, the Clinton Administration's dogged determination to streamline USDA will ensure that maximum resources are available to carry on the Department's important work—from food safety, to fighting hunger, to protecting the environment, to expanding the opportunities of farmers, ranchers, and all rural Americans.

8. Emerging Issues

Facing New Challenges, Seizing New Opportunities

Many of the challenges facing American agriculture during the Clinton-Gore years are the same ones farmers and ranchers have always known--droughts, floods, freezes, and weak prices. But as U.S. agriculture entered the 21st century, new challenges and new opportunities presented themselves as well. While these emerging issues existed for quite some time, they took on a new level of importance during the 1990s--importance to America's farmers and ranchers, importance to the Nation's health and environment, importance to global stability and the world war on hunger. While the list of emerging issues could go on for many pages, two issues stood out--both for their importance to the Nation and for the aggressive response of the Clinton Administration. These issues were the mass proliferation of biotechnology in agriculture and the escalating war to protect the country, its people and its resources from invasive species.

Realizing Biotechnology's Potential¹

In November of 1996, Secretary Glickman led the U.S. delegation to the World Food Summit in Rome. He gave a speech to the delegates outlining, among other things, the tremendous potential of agricultural biotechnology to help feed hundreds of millions of undernourished people around the world.

Later at a press conference, however, he found himself ducking flying objects, as a group of anti-biotechnology protesters began pelting him with genetically modified soybeans. They then stripped naked to flash messages painted on their bodies that said things like "No Gene Bean" and "The Naked Truth."

It was a most vivid example of the strong feelings people have--and the lengths to which they will go to express those feelings--when it comes to the issue of biotechnology and genetically modified foods.

Biotechnology has existed for many years, most notably fueling the 1970s "Green Revolution" that enabled the dramatic expansion of global food production while minimizing damage to the environment. But the sophistication and proliferation of biotechnology exploded on the Clinton-Gore watch. By 2000, genetically engineered crops accounted for roughly two-fifths of major crop acreage. USDA had worked for many years on biotechnology--conducting research, working with farmers, developing regulations and working on the trade front. But rapid advances in laboratories, mass adoption in farmers' fields and the increasing attention of consumers around the world brought the issue front and center during the 1990s. President Clinton's USDA worked hard to strike a responsible balance between harnessing the potential of biotechnology to feed the world in a sustainable way, while ensuring that rapid advances in biotechnology were governed by rigorous scientific oversight.

Scientists have tinkered with the genetic composition of plants since Gregor Mendel cross-pollinated his garden peas in the 19th century. But genetic engineering takes the process one step further, allowing for the transfer of a gene between species, thus introducing a desirable trait such as pest resistance or enhanced nutritional value.

¹ A more detailed, scientific account of this issue is included in a paper prepared by USDA's Biotechnology Coordinating Committee, "History of Biotechnology at USDA during the Clinton Administration," which is included in the appendix to this chapter.

Agricultural biotechnology creates a complex web of challenges and opportunities. The potential benefits are many: higher crop yields, lower input costs for farmers, less strain on the environment and better quality foods for consumers, to name just a few. Perhaps most important, biotechnology can be an important tool in reducing world hunger. In 2000, 800 million people were chronically malnourished, and world population is expected to reach 9 billion by the middle of the 21st century. Biotechnology can help world agricultural producers meet this exploding global food and fiber demand by growing more food from a limited and fragile natural resource base.

Biotechnology can improve not only the quantity of food but also the quality. For example, in 1999 Swiss scientists developed a new rice variety containing beta-carotene, the biochemical that turns into Vitamin A. This has major implications for the developing world, where Vitamin A deficiency is one of the leading causes of blindness, illness, and death and where rice happens to be a dietary staple.

During the Clinton Administration, USDA's Agricultural Research Service did its own extensive biotechnology research--with studies on everything from a biotechnology-derived vaccine that combats avian influenza in chickens to a tomato that is genetically modified to prevent over-ripening. Other USDA agencies and mission areas made their own biotechnology contributions. In 1996, the Economic Research Service began gathering and analyzing data on the extent and impact of agricultural biotechnology. The Forest Service used biotechnology to develop disease-resistant trees. In 2000, USDA also invested \$32 million in biotechnology projects as part of a new Initiative for Future Agriculture and Food Systems, designed to help farmers--especially small farmers--adapt to changes in agriculture.

Establishing a Rigorous Review Process

But USDA's most important biotechnology function has been a regulatory one. The Department issued the first regulations directly addressing genetically engineered organisms in 1997 and careful research and testing of new biotechnology products has flourished during the Clinton Administration. USDA plays an important role in ensuring, as best it possibly can, that no biotechnology product makes it to market that is hazardous to public health or to natural resources. This approval process is tight, comprehensive, and grounded in the most up-to-date demanding science. It is anything but a routine rubber stamp. There are many strict checkpoints through which a genetically modified product must pass on the road from petri dish to grocery store shelf.

Those checkpoints are patrolled by USDA and two other Federal agencies. USDA, through the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, evaluates products for potential plant pest risks. The Food and Drug Administration is the watchdog for a product's impact on food safety. The Environmental Protection Agency examines products that can be classified as pesticides. Regulators at all three agencies are scientists who work full-time on review of new products. They maintain an arm's-length distance from any entity with an interest in biotechnology commercialization, sales, or profit. In addition to being scientifically rigorous, the process is open and inclusive. Americans can believe in its integrity because they have the opportunity to watch it happen and participate. Public meetings with scientific advisory panels are held. For each product, information is regularly posted on the Internet.

USDA and the Clinton Administration worked diligently to continually improve the U.S. approval process. In 1999, Secretary Glickman asked the National Academy of Sciences to review USDA's regulatory procedures for biotechnology. (A final report was expected in late 2001). He also appointed an Advisory Committee on Agricultural Biotechnology, to provide policy guidance on the larger issues around the impact of this technology. The 38-person panel, which met three times during 2000, reflects

a broad range of perspectives on biotechnology. The members' expertise is varied. In addition to industry executives and farmers, the committee also includes environmental and consumer advocates, as well as an economist, a sociologist, and a physician.

Unfortunately by 2000, many of the United States' trading partners still had not built a similar working regulatory infrastructure. The European Union in particular has had difficulties that have led to transatlantic trade tensions over biotechnology. Instead of coming to science-based conclusions about how to address safety issues for biotechnology products, they simply closed their market to these products. This decision created a rift in the transatlantic relationship between these otherwise close allies and cost the United States hundreds of millions of dollars in lost exports.

The European position was, in some measure, a response to the food safety anxiety of consumers there, who were victimized by a series of public health scares in the 1990s, such as the outbreak of BSE (commonly known as "mad cow" disease) in Great Britain. But USDA and the Clinton Administration maintained that Governments must base their approach to biotechnology not on general mistrust of scientific progress, but on independent, empirical analysis.

That is the message the Administration carried to all of its trading partners. As the Administration prepared for the next round of World Trade Organization agriculture negotiations, one of the top agenda items was to move nations toward a modern, transparent, science-based biotechnology approval process.

Biotechnology has received a better reception outside Europe, especially in many developing countries, where genetic engineering is embraced as one of the keys to addressing hunger and malnutrition. While not all of these nations have the appropriate regulatory structures in place, they have been enthusiastic partners of the United States in promoting further advances in biotechnology. Throughout his travels, especially in Africa, Secretary Glickman has emphasized the potential benefits of biotechnology and worked with his counterparts on strategies to bring those benefits to developing nations.

The White House Biotechnology Initiative

USDA's vigilance on biotechnology also helped lead to a White House Biotechnology Initiative, designed to increase consumer confidence in the regulatory system. The Initiative, announced in May 2000, included several steps. It called on the Food and Drug Administration to develop guidelines for clear and straightforward voluntary food labeling relating to the use of biotechnology. USDA was charged with, among other things, working with farmers and industry to develop reliable testing procedures that effectively differentiate bio-engineered commodities from those that have not been bio-engineered. The idea was to better serve the needs of a marketplace that values consumer choice.

In late 2000, USDA was preparing to open a laboratory in Kansas City, Missouri, that would evaluate testing procedures and accredit independent testing labs that meet high performance standards. In November 2000, USDA also took the step of soliciting public comment from all interested parties on what, if any, additional steps USDA should take to facilitate the marketing of genetically modified crops. This was another example of the Administration's commitment to an open and transparent approach to biotechnology because USDA went beyond its statutory obligation to solicit public comment on its proposals. Instead, it offered the public the chance to weigh in before these proposed regulations were even drafted.

A Voice of Reason in the Heated Debate

This move reflected the Administration's commitment to bring the public into the process. This, largely, was Secretary Glickman's influence. He did a great deal to introduce a more moderate tone into the debate. While a believer in biotechnology's potential, Glickman was willing to point out the excesses on both sides. He demonstrated that one can be pro-biotechnology and still believe in proceeding with caution and appropriate safeguards.

Glickman criticized knee-jerk opposition to biotechnology, but he did it without the barbed insults often leveled by others. He emphatically pointed out the flaws of the European approach, but he also was critical of biotech supporters who blithely dismissed consumer fears of genetically modified foods. Glickman argued that all parties should respect people's skepticism, whether or not it is justified by the science. Preaching and berating, Glickman suggested, was not the way to persuade people of biotechnology's benefits. Rather, he argued, what was needed was a reasoned public information effort and a greater commitment to generating biotechnology products which, in addition to helping farmers and seed companies, would offer immediate consumer benefits such as better taste, higher nutritional value, and increased shelf life.

Secretary Glickman believed that a more constructive dialogue on biotechnology could eventually create an atmosphere where common ground could be identified. Only then could the world truly harness the power of biotechnology to do the most possible good for the most possible people.

Conclusion

The end of the Clinton Administration marks just the beginning of the challenges associated with agricultural biotechnology. As this technology matures and expands, the U.S. regulatory process must continue to stay ahead of the curve, so it can respond effectively to new innovations. As people's food tastes evolve, Government must continue to work with industry to monitor movement and trends in demand for biotech crops. In an agricultural economy that is becoming more consolidated, the Government also must continue to explore ways to ensure that small farmers--not just multinational corporations--reap the benefits of biotechnology. It must also address how biotech and nonbiotech crops and products can thrive together on farms and in the marketplace. Perhaps most important, it must carry on the Clinton Administration's efforts to guide responsible progress in biotechnology, so this scientific advance--like so many before it--can be a force for humanitarian progress and a lifeline for the world's hungry and malnourished.

Invasive Species: Guarding Against a True Alien Invasion

In 1993, Congress' Office of Technology Assessment released a study indicating that 79 invasive species caused approximately \$97 billion in agricultural production losses from 1906 to 1991. A 2000 study estimated the economic impact of invasive species--including lost export markets; damage to natural areas; destroyed trees, crops, and livestock; and other potential losses--at as high as \$138 billion per year in the United States. Over the course of the Clinton Administration, USDA waged war on these invasive species in order to protect the Nation's environment, health, and agricultural resources, as well as to defend the U.S. farm economy from these tiny invaders that posed a giant economic threat.

Particularly in the later years of the Clinton Administration, invasive species presented an unprecedented threat to agriculture. In 1999-2000 Secretary Glickman declared no less than 9 invasive species emergencies and used his emergency authority to release well over \$200 million in emergency funding. Dramatic increases in international trade and travel raised the risk of introductions of foreign pests and diseases substantially. In 1996, for example, USDA officials inspected 66 million international airline passengers and crew members--five times more people than live in the State of Florida. That same year,

USDA inspectors intercepted almost 2 million potentially damaging plant and animal products, preventing 58,000 pests of concern from entering the country. But some pests and diseases continued to elude our defenses. As a result, the Clinton Administration embarked on a strong national strategy to enhance the Nation's defense against invasive species, and improve America's ability to respond quickly and effectively to invasive species introductions when they do occur.

America's Most Wanted

Dramatic increases in passenger travel and the movement of goods around the world have raised the stakes exponentially in the battle against non-native, invasive species. The global economy now means that we must be concerned with a global universe of pests and diseases. Invasions include these:

- Asian long-horned beetles forced the destruction of 5,600 trees in beloved urban parks and neighborhoods in New York City and Chicago at a cost of about \$15 million and rising.
- The exotic West Nile virus—carried by mosquitoes and birds—caused the deaths of seven people, several horses, and thousands of wild birds in 1999, and the virus reappeared in 2000.
- An exotic disease called plum pox destroyed peach and plum groves in Pennsylvania and threatened the Nation's stonefruit industry.
- An outbreak of citrus canker in Florida devastated lime production in the State and continues to spread toward other citrus-growing areas.
- Pierce's disease—spread by an insect vector called the glassy-winged sharpshooter — caused serious damage to grape production in California.
- A Mexican fruit fly in California seriously damaged many fruit and vegetable crops.
- Exotic weeds invaded rangelands, forests, and waterways and threatened precious natural resources such as the Everglades.

Invasive Species: The U.S. Tour

To highlight the risks posed by invasive pests and diseases, Secretary Glickman embarked on a national invasive species tour in March of 2000. This trip illustrated the magnitude of the problem and highlighted the range of people affected by the destruction that just one pest introduction can bring.

In New York City, Secretary Glickman visited Rupper Park, where just four short blocks from Central Park, Asian long-horned beetles felled two dozen trees, changing the character of the park for years. Glickman also announced the allocation of additional Federal funds to aid efforts to battle the dreaded West Nile virus, which killed seven people in New York in 1999.

Glickman then moved on to Florida, where he stood with a lime farmer as he burned his lime trees to kill the devastating scourge of citrus canker, which threatens the State's \$8-billion citrus industry. Hundreds of thousands of citrus trees were destroyed in commercial groves and backyards across Florida. The price tag for these efforts? More than \$170 million a year.

To get a sense of the enormous volume of travelers and cargo that enter this country each day, Secretary Glickman traveled to Miami International Airport, the country's busiest airport of entry for agricultural products. In 1999, more than 3 million tons of air cargo passed through Miami, not to mention 9 million air passengers. USDA officials in Miami—working with the Department's famous beagle brigade—routinely seize or deny entry to thousands of products and animals that threaten U.S. agriculture.

The Secretary's next stop was Southern California. There he visited three of the Nation's busiest ports, where import tonnage doubled since 1992. At the Port of Long Beach, more than 4,000 ships enter the United States each year. Many carry solid wood packing material from China—the preferred mode of transportation for the Asian long-horned beetle. Glickman also visited an area under quarantine because of a Mexican fruit fly outbreak, where USDA helped release sterile fruit flies to breed the infestation out of existence.

Further north, in California wine country, Glickman met with grape growers whose vineyards were afflicted by Pierce's disease, which is transmitted by a pest called the glassy-winged sharpshooter and is lethal to grapevines, almonds, alfalfa, oleander, and other plants.

The trip highlighted the fact that invasive species are not just a "farming problem." When these costly invaders slip across U.S. borders, they impact everyone who wants high-quality, affordable food; values the natural beauty of sprawling national forests, urban parks, and lush backyards; and craves the security that animals and insects will not spread exotic diseases.

Executive Order on Invasive Species

In 1997, the White House requested that USDA and the Department of the Interior outline a Federal strategy on invasive species. On January 3, 1999, a Presidential Executive Order on Invasive Species was signed. The directive created the National Council on Invasive Species, and USDA plays a lead role

in fulfilling many of the order's main goals, including improved early detection and rapid response systems, control and management, monitoring, public outreach and international efforts.

USDA began to organize its invasive species programs in 1995 by reconvening the USDA Weed Coordinating Team. In 1998, the team was expanded to become the USDA Invasive Species Coordinator's Group, to address the full range of economic, agricultural, environmental, and public health threats posed by the introduction of non-native plants and animals.

Legislative Work

President Clinton's USDA also helped draft legislation to modernize, enhance, and streamline its plant protection authorities. The Secretary of Agriculture was first authorized to address diseases and pests affecting plants under the Plant Quarantine Act of 1912. By 1982, nearly a dozen Federal plant protection laws existed, along with much duplication, authority gaps, and contradictions among these statutes. A consolidation of these duties and authorities was finally passed by Congress as part of the Agricultural Risk Protection Act of 2000. The Plant Protection Act consolidated 11 existing pest exclusion statutes. It also gave USDA the authority to establish more effective deterrents against smuggling by putting real teeth into the Department's enforcement efforts, enabling USDA to assess civil penalties and secure subpoenas to help prosecute serious offenders.

Regulatory Efforts

In 1999, USDA published an interim rule adding general prohibitions and restrictions on the interstate movement of noxious weeds. The interstate movement of Federal noxious weeds is now prohibited except under permit. In response to the rising levels of imported goods and international tourism, more invasive species have entered the United States in recent years. USDA has primary responsibility for surveying private and State lands to uncover these invasions.¹ USDA is also responsible for developing risk assessments related to the addition of new species to the Federal Noxious Weed list. New species added during the Clinton-Gore years include: wetland nightshade, mud mat, small bell morning glory, tropical soda apple, and *Caulerpa taxifolia* (the first seaweed listed).

Eradication and Control

The Mediterranean fruit fly, commonly known as the Medfly, is one of the world's most destructive agricultural pests, attacking more than 250 kinds of fruits, nuts, and vegetables. Since 1929, periodic outbreaks of Medfly have threatened producers in California, Florida, and Texas. Thanks to the Clinton Administration's strong efforts, the U.S. mainland is currently free of this destructive pest. If Medfly were to become established in this country, it is estimated that annual losses would be about \$1.5 billion. In response to sporadic outbreaks of this pest, USDA and State officials conducted emergency response efforts consisting of chemical treatments, sterile fly releases, and intensive surveillance. These efforts were very successful in preventing these pests from getting a foothold in key agricultural economies throughout the country.

¹ During the 1993-2000 period, USDA conducted surveys on the following species: catclaw mimosa in Florida; *Orobanche minor* in Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina; *Orobanche ramosa* in Texas; Itchgrass in North Carolina; Turkeyberry in Alabama and Florida; Chinese water spinach in Florida; Cogongrass in Florida and Georgia; Hydrilla in California; Tropical soda apple in Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Puerto Rico; branched broomrape in Texas; and small broomrape in Oregon.

The Medfly is just one of many nonindigenous insects, plants, diseases, and aquatic organisms that increasingly threaten American farms, forests, and cities. As of September 30, 2000, President Clinton's USDA had spent \$122 million battling an outbreak of citrus canker in Florida, which was first detected in 1995 and subsequently devastated domestic lime production. In Pennsylvania, USDA and State officials removed 875 acres of orchards to prevent the spread of plum pox virus, a serious exotic disease of stone fruit. USDA also worked with State Governments to provide bio-control of weeds such as leafy spurge, which had spread over millions of acres of rangeland in the Northwest. In addition, USDA devoted significant resources to fighting other devastating invaders such as the Asian long-horned beetle, which forced the destruction of beloved trees in Chicago and New York homes and parks; the glassy winged sharpshooter, which posed a major threat to California vineyards; and West Nile virus, which caused the deaths of several New Yorkers when mosquito bites inflicted the deadly illness.

To prevent further introductions of pests such as the Asian long-horned beetle, USDA imposed an interim ban on the import of untreated wood products from China in 1999. In 2000 it worked toward a permanent rule for regulating the import of untreated wood from around the world. These actions are essential for stopping and slowing the entry of invasive pests, including the Asian long-horned beetle, which could devastate U.S. agricultural and environmental resources. USDA is leading an aggressive survey effort to ensure existing beetle populations are detected and eradicated.

Research

USDA has been the lead Department for research on agricultural invasive species as well as invasive species of forests and rangelands. USDA researchers, along with other Federal and State partners, began developing a comprehensive national program for detecting and monitoring invasive species in forest and rangelands. Changes include coordinating of monitoring efforts, adding and evaluating indicators for detection of invasive species in field surveys, and establishing a program to detect the movement of invasive species out of urban areas surrounding ports and into area wildlands.

USDA also has been instrumental in developing information systems, such as the web-based exotic forest pest information system, developed in partnership with Canada and Mexico. USDA also completed key risk assessments on the importation of exotic pests on unprocessed logs from South America and solid wood packing materials from China and elsewhere.

USDA was awarded a new patent for a strain of gypsy moth virus with enhanced potency for control of gypsy moth, promoting an improved, environmentally sensitive control option.

In 1999, USDA started Team Leafy Spurge, a 5-year pest management project in the Little Missouri River drainage, aimed at combating this formidable terrestrial weed that infests more than 5 million acres in 29 States. Partners include other Federal Departments, such as the Department of Interior, State agencies, land-grant universities, county seed managers, and landowners. The team's integrated pest management strategy relies on biological control agents and techniques such as combined sheep and cattle grazing. The effectiveness of one biological control agent, the leafy spurge flea beetle, has demonstrated progress at numerous sites. Tours of the demonstration sites are part of a comprehensive public education program, and response by farmers and ranchers has been overwhelming. Research funded by the team in the United States and abroad seeks to improve understanding of how biological controls work.

Partnerships

The National Plant Board. President Clinton's USDA also has worked to enhance the activities that make up the Nation's agricultural safeguarding system: pest exclusion, detection, and eradication efforts. In October of 1998, USDA requested a thorough review of its safeguarding efforts and recommendations for improvements. This review incorporated the opinions of stakeholders from States, industry, academia, and environmental groups. After the review was issued in July 1999, USDA began working to carry out recommended enhancements to its pest exclusion, international information, and pest detection and response. USDA also worked to expand its focus on identifying pathways for and seizing smuggled agricultural items.

Interagency Cooperation. Six USDA agencies were founding members of the Federal Interagency Committee for the Management of Noxious and Exotic Weeds, which was developed formally in 1994 and including 17 Federal agencies. USDA was instrumental in developing "Pulling Together: National Invasive Plant Management Strategy." USDA also was instrumental in the publication of the highly acclaimed "Invasive Plants: Changing the Landscape of America," which communicates the complex issue of invasive species to the general public.

Assisting Local Efforts. In 1996, USDA, the U.S. Department of the Interior, and the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation began a program to kick-start local noxious weed control efforts. By 2000, this program had funded more than 130 projects across the country, bringing local communities together to set priorities for managing their noxious weeds on tight budgets.

Fighting Aquatic Invasions. The USDA also held a lead position on the Aquatic Nuisance Species Task Force. In fact, one of the most widely used risk analysis processes for evaluating invasive species is the "Generic Non-indigenous Aquatic Organisms Risk Analysis Review Process," which was developed by a task force committee that is chaired by a USDA scientist.

Conclusion

By the end of the Clinton Administration, USDA was better poised to address the growing threat of intrusive species--many so small that they can all too easily slip past our borders. These tiny invaders have enormous impact. They can devastate crops and livestock, shut down export markets, cause farmers significant losses, and increase the cost of the Nation's food supply. They also can destroy parks and forests, damage streams and aquatic life, alter America's natural landscapes, and even threaten the public health. Under Secretary Glickman's leadership, USDA took significant steps to enhance its ability to exclude harmful invasive species, and to increase public awareness of this threat. The Nation's farm economy, environmental resources, and public health are far more secure thanks to the unprecedented efforts of the Clinton Administration.

9. *Biographies*

Dan Glickman, Secretary U.S. Department of Agriculture

Upon nominating Daniel Robert Glickman to be the nation's 26th Secretary of Agriculture, President Clinton noted that "he has always been more interested in solving problems for people than scoring political points...I chose him for his common sense and his good humor."

Throughout a quarter century of public service, Dan Glickman was more consensus-builder than fierce partisan. He combined intellectual command of the issues with a genial manner that allowed him to bridge ideological differences and work well with people across the political spectrum.

That approach was a product both of personality and common sense, as Glickman's political base was in a relatively conservative congressional district in one of the nation's most Republican states, Kansas, where Glickman was born on November 24, 1944.

Glickman is the second of three children born to Milton and Gladys Glickman, who raised their family in Wichita while running the family scrap metal business. Dan Glickman attended the Wichita public schools before leaving home for the University of Michigan in 1962. It was there that he met Rhoda Yura of Detroit, whom he married shortly after graduation. The Glickmans headed first to Washington, DC, where Dan attended George Washington University Law School and then became a trial attorney for the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission.

In 1970, it was back to Kansas, where Dan became an associate and then a partner in the Wichita law firm of Sargent, Klenda and Glickman. While practicing law, Glickman was elected to the Wichita school board and later became its president, a position that gave him a platform to speak out on local issues. In the meantime, the Glickmans had started a family, with Jonathan born in 1969, followed by Amy in 1972.

Still only 31 years old, Glickman decided to challenge eight-term incumbent Congressman Garner Shriver in 1976. It was during this campaign that Glickman had his first lessons in agriculture, which would eventually become the defining issue of his career in public service. Although he was from a farm state, Glickman was city-bred. So he met with local farmers to try to learn more about their business. He admitted to them that he did not know much about farming, that he had never, as he put it, pushed a tractor in his life. One farmer spoke up and said: "Well, young man, the first thing you need to understand is: you don't *push* a tractor, you *ride* one."

But Glickman was a quick study. Political analysts gave him little chance, as no Democrat had held the Fourth District seat in 40 years. But he defeated Shriver on Election Night with 51

percent of the vote, despite the fact that Kansas political giant Senator Robert Dole was on the top of the Republican slate as the Vice Presidential nominee.

In Congress, Glickman became one of the nation's most influential voices on farm policy. As a member of the House Agriculture Committee, he helped write four different farm bills. For six years, he served as the Chair of the Subcommittee on Wheat, Soybeans, and Feed Grains, which had jurisdiction over nearly three-quarters of the Department of Agriculture's farm program budget.

As a Congressman, however, Glickman was anything but a Johnny One-Note. He was a strong advocate of consumer rights, recognized by the group Public Voice with its "Golden Carrot Award" for consumer protection. He was one of Congress' foremost experts on aviation policy, bucking his party's leadership and winning a grueling battle to grant product liability protection for small airplane manufacturers. He also wrote the legislation authorizing the U.S. Institute of Peace and a law increasing criminal penalties for the destruction of religious property.

In 1993, Glickman was named to the highly sensitive position of Chair of the House Intelligence Committee. In that job, he pushed strongly for a more open Central Intelligence Agency that would be more suited to a post-Cold War world. He led the effort to "demystify" the activities of the intelligence community, and he presided over the committee's investigation of the Aldrich Ames case.

Glickman was attentive to his district and very much in touch with his constituents' concerns. He would often head into the office on weekends to open the mail himself, allowing him an unfiltered look into what people back home were thinking. At the same time, Glickman also was willing to break with local sentiment and act on conscience, even if it worked to his political detriment. His support in the early 1990s for the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Brady Bill and the assault weapon ban were principled stands that may have contributed to the end of Glickman's congressional career.

One of the keys to Glickman's success in Congress was the strength of his relationships with his colleagues. In a commencement speech to the Georgetown Public Policy Institute, he called friendship "the oil that knocks the kinks out of the policymaking process."

Glickman came to Congress in the same class as Vice President Al Gore and House Democratic Leader Richard Gephardt--"At least one of the three of us made good," Glickman was fond of pointing out to them--and built close friendships with both. Other close House colleagues included Leon Panetta of California, who went on to serve as Budget Director and White House Chief of Staff, and Tom Daschle of South Dakota, eventual leader of the Senate Democrats.

But Glickman's personal relationships extended beyond the Democratic caucus. He worked well with Senator Bob Dole, whose enthusiastic support would be critical to Glickman's smooth confirmation as Secretary of Agriculture. Republican Pat Roberts, a fellow Kansan, was a frequent sparring partner of Glickman's on the House Agriculture Committee. But for all their

disagreements -- and there were many -- the two were friendly and always treated each other with mutual respect.

Bidding for a tenth term in Congress, Glickman was upset by Republican state senator Todd Tiahrt in 1994. At the very same time, Rhoda Glickman also found herself out of work, since the Congressional Arts Caucus, where she had served as Executive Director, was being eliminated by the new Congressional majority. "The only one working in the family now is our son, and he won't take our calls," Dan Glickman joked at the time.

But Glickman would quickly bounce back from the defeat. Less than two months after Election Day, President Clinton tapped him to be Secretary of Agriculture, a job Glickman had been considered for two years earlier. Glickman assumed his new job on March 30, 1995 and would eventually become the sixth longest-serving Agriculture Secretary in history.

At the Agriculture Department (USDA), Glickman did everything in his power to help farmers and ranchers – especially smaller, family-sized operations – make a decent living and share in the American Dream. During the second half of his tenure, as commodity prices plunged and the global financial crisis shrunk American export demand, that became an increasingly difficult task. But under Glickman's leadership, USDA was there with every conceivable means of support, including direct cash assistance, weather-related disaster declarations, increased purchases for federal food programs, crop insurance discounts, export credits and more.

Glickman played an important role in the crafting of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996, helping ensure that it was the most environmentally progressive farm bill in the nation's history. At the same time, Glickman was sharply critical of the bill's shortcomings, especially its failure to provide an adequate safety net to protect farmers from sharp economic downturns like the one that hit in the late 1990s.

Glickman's principle focus as Secretary has been to make USDA's work relevant to all of the American people. In 1862, when Abraham Lincoln signed the legislation creating USDA, he called this new government entity "the People's Department." Almost a century and a half later, Glickman strongly maintained that that moniker still applies, even during an era when only a small percentage of Americans make their living off the land. Although production agriculture remains the heart of the Department's work, Glickman embraced the breadth of USDA's mandate, emphasizing farming's link to food safety, food marketing, environmental stewardship, international trade, nutrition, scientific research and rural economic development.

To him, this was the right thing to do. But it was also a shrewd political strategy, an effort to build a broader coalition of support for USDA and its programs in the future.

In addition to traditional farm programs, Glickman has been a champion of farmers markets and cooperatives to help farmers capture a greater share of the consumer dollar. Under his leadership, USDA implemented a revolutionary new meat and poultry inspection system, which has been credited with lowering contamination rates and reducing the number of foodborne

illnesses. Glickman also led the long and arduous process, begun when he was in Congress, of issuing rules and standards for the organic food industry. And he helped direct President Clinton's effort to prohibit new road-building on several million acres of pristine national forest land.

Glickman has taken a strong personal interest in fighting hunger, both at home and abroad. In addition to administering USDA's anti-hunger programs, Glickman began a food recovery and gleaning effort that has USDA working with farmers, restaurants, caterers and others to save excess food and get it to food banks and soup kitchens. Glickman also launched a new Community Food Security Initiative, to strengthen USDA's partnerships with grass-roots anti-hunger organizations.

Perhaps the most vexing challenge Glickman faced during six years at USDA had to do with civil rights. Historically, the Department had been less than a bastion of racial inclusion and equal opportunity. But Glickman refused to tolerate anything less from the "People's Department" than fair treatment of *all* people, both employees and customers.

He commissioned a special task force to examine civil rights at USDA. The team came back with 92 recommendations, almost all of which were implemented. Glickman also settled a class-action suit brought against the Department by a group of African-American farmers that paid about 12,000 farmers a total of nearly \$600 million. On Glickman's watch, USDA lending to African-American farmers increased; minority groups and women were better represented in the USDA workforce; procurement outreach to minority-owned businesses improved; and accountability was introduced, as civil rights violators were strongly disciplined and, in some cases, dismissed.

There was no bigger priority than this for Secretary Glickman, who believes that, ultimately, how you treat people is a more important part of your legacy than the laws you passed or the programs you administered.

Although Dan Glickman took his career seriously, he never took himself too seriously. In fact, humor has been an enduring theme throughout his public life. Glickman's own sense of humor was sometimes corny, often self-deprecating, occasionally irreverent, at times even randy. He frequently poked fun at his own receding hairline (which eventually receded altogether). As Secretary, he traded good-natured barbs with host Craig Kilborn on the Late Late Show. During his confirmation hearing in 1995, he noted that the only thing he knew about food and agriculture growing up was that he had a Jewish mother who was constantly badgering him to "eat, eat!"

He was even able to turn embarrassing episodes into humor. After Glickman was found to be one of several members of Congress to have overdrafts on his House bank account, he apologized to his constituents and then performed a rendition of "Hey, Big Spender" at the Wichita Gridiron Club Dinner.

More recently, he got up to address a nutrition conference, when an animal rights activist charged the stage, threw a pie at Glickman, screaming at him that he was a "meat pimp." After the woman was escorted from the room, Glickman noted wryly that it was not a very balanced meal she threw at him. He then turned to Bob Dole, who was seated on the stage and said: "Bob, I don't think we're in Kansas any longer."

Glickman came by his sense of humor honestly. Both Milton and Gladys Glickman were known for their wit. Milton had a weakness for puns ("I had a nightmare that I swallowed a muffler...the next day I woke up exhausted"). When Dan Glickman took his mother to the White House to meet President Bush, Bush greeted her warmly and noted that he liked her son very much, so much that he wishes he would convert, meaning from the Democratic to the Republican party. Without missing a beat, Mrs. Glickman replied: "Oh no, we're very happy being Jewish."

In honor of his parents and their wit, Glickman and his siblings made a gift to Wichita State University to establish a lecture series, and eventually a public policy institute, which will explore the role of humor in public life.

Glickman used humor for more than just humor's sake. He considered it a strategic tool of his trade, a tension-breaker, a means of relaxing people and helping them move toward compromise and consensus. His sense of humor are a part of his general approachability and lack of pretense, which drew colleagues to him and allowed him to influence them, thus making him an effective coalition-builder.

Leadership comes in many forms. Dan Glickman's brand of leadership combined intelligence and policy acumen with energy, accessibility, informality and levity, all adding up to a distinguished lawmaker and accomplished Cabinet Secretary.

Mike Espy, Secretary U.S. Department of Agriculture

When Secretary of Agriculture Mike Espy hosted his first all-employee meeting in the Patio of USDA's Jamie Whitten Building, he ended by issuing a surprise invitation to the employees who had turned out in droves to find out what their new Secretary was all about. Espy invited the employees to "come on upstairs and walk through the office." Employees were delighted, USDA's security team was sent scrambling, and Espy's own staff was confounded. For the next few hours, hundreds of employees, many of whom had worked at USDA for years without ever once seeing inside the Office of the Secretary, finally got a chance to stroll through "the Cage," shaking hands with the new Secretary and meeting his staff.

As that incident demonstrated, Mike Espy differed from previous Secretaries of Agriculture in more ways than the obvious. When President Clinton tapped the Mississippi Congressman as Secretary in 1992, it was, to say the least, a most unconventional choice. Espy, then 39, was the youngest person ever to be named Secretary at USDA. He also happened to be an African-American. Some wondered if a Mississippian could really understand the intricacies of policies that affected Midwestern producers. But Mike Espy possesses a quiet faith in God and an unshakeable belief in his own ability to accomplish what others might view as impossible. His faith and self-confidence gave Espy the courage to run for Congress when few thought he could win; emboldened him to seek a cabinet post after only three terms in Congress; made him arguably one of the most successful Secretary's in USDA's history; and -- when he faced a possible prison sentence -- his faith and confidence helped him walk out of court standing tall.

A Foundation of Faith and Discipline

Alphonso Michael Espy was born in Yazoo City Mississippi on November 30, 1953, the youngest (along with his twin sister Michelle) of seven children of Willie Jean and Henry Espy. The close-knit Espy family was among the few blacks to succeed in spite of Jim Crow segregation in Mississippi. Both of Espy's parents were college graduates and the family operated a chain of funeral homes across the state. His grandfather, T. J. Huddleston, Sr., had founded the first Black Hospital in Mississippi. In the Espy family, discipline and church were mandatory. Mike's father wanted him to be a mortician. But Mike eventually chose a course that would allow him to serve people while they are still alive - leaving the funeral business to others.

Always challenged by his parents to achieve academically, Espy was one of the first African-Americans to attend a formerly all-white high school in Mississippi. He attended Howard University, the "capstone" of Black colleges in the nation's capital, and received his B.A. degree in 1975. Known for producing African-American leaders in law, politics, and the arts, in the early 1970s Howard was a hotbed of student activism, with energy focused on everything from apartheid in South Africa to tuition increases on campus. Perhaps a harbinger his future, a young Mike Espy headed the School's Political Science Association. He received his J.D. from the University of Santa Clara School of Law in 1978.

Espy's father died during his second year in law school - a painful loss for the Espy family. So after graduation he returned to Mississippi, he says, for one reason because his mother was there. Espy married his girlfriend Sheila from law school and started a family. Daughter Jamilla was born in 1979, son Michael in 1982. Espy worked first as managing attorney for Central Mississippi Legal Services, burning himself out handling hundreds of cases for poor Mississippians who have no other recourse to resolve their legal problems. In 1980, newly elected Secretary of State Ed Pittman named Espy assistant secretary of state of the Public Lands Division. In 1984, Pittman, now the Attorney General, chose Espy as assistant state attorney general of the Consumer Protection Division.

Espy was the first African-American in Mississippi to serve in either post, and he demonstrated how public service could change peoples' lives for the better. As director of the Public Lands Division, Espy instituted a system to give landowners, many of them uneducated, poor, and black, an opportunity to retain their land after it had been taken for non-payment of taxes. While assistant attorney general, Espy returned more than \$2.4 million to Mississippi consumers who were victims of fraud and other illegal practices. For his next political move, however, the returns to his native Mississippians would be priceless.

A New Era in Mississippi Politics

Nestled along the Mississippi River, which divides the Magnolia State from Arkansas and Louisiana, Mississippi's second congressional district has long been one of the poorest regions in one of the poorest states in the country. The infant mortality rate here rivals that in many Third World countries. In the mid-1980s, the per capita income was \$9,000 per year; one-fifth of the housing was classified as dilapidated. Mostly flat, cotton land, the Delta was once the cradle of slavery. Two decades after civil rights and voting rights legislation passed in Washington, the region's majority black population remained locked in an often heated struggle for political enfranchisement and economic opportunity. The second district was created by court order in 1982 to give African-Americans, 35 percent of Mississippi's population, an opportunity to elect a congressman of their choice. In 1982, and again in 1984, respected black state Representative Robert Clark narrowly lost racially polarized elections in the second district, which had a 53 percent Black Voting Age population, to former Circuit Judge Webb Franklin.

By 1986, most black leaders in Mississippi had concluded that the district could not be won - at least not without yet another effort at redrawing its boundaries. But not Mike Espy. Espy figured that Franklin was vulnerable for several reasons: there would be no Presidential coattails in 1986; the incumbent had apparently turned his back on a key constituency by voting against much needed assistance for economically hurting farmers; he supported raising the retirement age for Social Security; and he had negligible support among the majority black population in the district. Espy concluded that a strong grassroots organization to turn out black voters could secure victory.

Still, in what must have been a leap of faith, the 32-year-old Espy, who had never run for political office before, quietly quit his job as assistant attorney general to focus full time on winning the prize that had eluded the much better known Robert Clark. Intelligent and articulate,

with a reserved style that masked his intensity, Espy proved to be quite persuasive. Whether meeting behind closed doors with white farmers and business leaders or speaking passionately to increasingly excited African-Americans in churches across the Delta, he pressed his case that electing him to Congress was the best way to bring federal attention to the economic problems facing all of the people. Armed with his knowledge of Robert Clark's defeats and confident that his campaign organization was state of the art, Espy predicted victory.

Espy first had to win a bitter Democratic primary against Clarksdale banker Pete Johnson, the grandson and nephew of former Mississippi governors, and Hiram Eastland, second cousin of former Senator James O. Eastland. Espy won with 50.15 percent of the vote, a scant 80 votes kept him out of a "second" primary race with Johnson, who finished a distant second. Johnson challenged the results in several counties, even leveling charges of fraud. However, the charges were investigated and turned back by Democratic Party committees in many counties that were dominated by committee members seated as a result of Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1984 campaign for the Presidency.

On November 4, 1986, Mike Espy's predictions came true when he beat two-term incumbent Webb Franklin in the general election. Even though the election took place in a driving rainstorm, Espy won with 51.7 percent of the vote, receiving 95 percent of the African-American vote and 12.5 percent of the votes from whites. He also benefitted from a relatively lower turnout of white voters, especially many farmers who sent Franklin a message by staying at home. Early returns led some to call the race for Franklin, but by 11 p.m. election night the prayers of Espy's supporters throughout Mississippi were answered when the Associated Press declared that he had pulled the upset.

Espy's election ushered in a new era in Mississippi politics. No black had represented Mississippi in Congress since 1883, when John Roy Lynch, first elected during reconstruction, was forced out of office. For African-Americans, especially those who shed rivers of blood and suffered untold hardship for the right to vote just a few years before, Espy's election was literally a dream come true. He became an instant celebrity in the state, an inspiration to young and old alike. For many white Mississippians, especially state Democratic Party leaders, Espy's ascension was a chance to show the nation that the old Mississippi, a state synonymous with black oppression and disenfranchisement, was past. Now victorious, he faced the daunting challenge of effectively representing a district that was divided by race, but also by class.

The "Best Congressman Mississippi Has Ever Had"

Promising to be the "best Congressman that Mississippi has ever had," Espy decided he would best succeed by working as hard as humanly possible for his constituents—including those who voted against him, and, in the beginning, refused to even shake his hand. In Washington, Espy developed a national reputation as an effective spokesperson for rural America and as a hard working Congressman who would cut through mounds of bureaucratic red tape for his constituents. He installed a 1-800 number so his constituents would not have to make long distance phone calls to reach him.

Espy secured seats on the Budget and Agriculture committees - working to protect programs important to the second district, such as farm and nutrition programs. He was one of the few freshmen members of the 100th Congress to pass a major piece of legislation, the Lower Mississippi River Valley Delta Development Act, which set out a blue print for economic development in poverty stricken counties in a seven-state area, including Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana and Tennessee. Espy also introduced and passed "National Catfish Day," which garnered chuckles from the un-initiated, but brought international attention to a growing industry responsible for some 17,000 jobs in his district.

Espy won praise from almost all quarters for his job performance in Congress. The Jackson Clarion Ledger's editorial echoed others across the state: "If there is a rising star of the 100th Congress, a rookie of the year so to speak, it was Mississippi's Mike Espy ... He wanted to be more than a symbol and he has been. He has represented the state well, bringing needed attention and aid to his Mississippi Delta district."

By 1988, Espy was reelected easily with 66 percent of the vote, maintaining his 95 percent vote among blacks, while receiving some 40 percent of the votes cast by whites. Espy's success was nothing short of remarkable in the racial tempest that historically characterized politics in Mississippi. As the Memphis Commercial Appeal put it, Espy "has started to create a bi-racial coalition based on the common concerns of whites and blacks in the Second District." Espy noted that the key difference between his first and second elections was that he was able to overcome the apprehension of white voters based on his performance. "You have to get in to serve so they recognize that with a black congressman the sun will still come up tomorrow, just like it did yesterday," he told the Washington Post. Ever mindful of the historic barriers he was overcoming, he added, "for any politician to be considered not as a black politician, but as a politician ... as Mike Espy, the Congressman from District 2, that is an important step."

In his second term, Espy picked up where he left off - focusing on the every day problems of people in the district. A critical issue was the plight of African-American farmers. Citing outright discrimination and neglect by USDA, and other factors, Espy decried the disappearance of minority farming in Mississippi and across the Nation. Working with Senator Wyche Fowler, of Georgia, he successfully passed the Minority Farmers Rights Act that authorized \$10 million annually in outreach and technical assistance to socially disadvantaged and minority farmers.

Another of Espy's proud moments occurred when he helped secure \$156,000 in funding for a water system for residents of Blue Hill, Mississippi - after local officials had worked for some 14 years without success to bring running water to the rural community in Jefferson County. Residents in Blue Hill had to dip water from a creek to bathe, cook and clean. "This week marks 20 years since the United States landed a man on the moon," Espy said. "It will also mark the first time ever for many Blue Hill residents to have running water ... It's time for Congress to concentrate on moving rural America into modern times along with the rest of the country." A picture of a little black girl holding her hands under water coming from a faucet for the first time, hung in Espy's office, served as a constant reminder to Espy and his staff that, despite the difficulties, they were making a difference. Espy continued to bring housing relief as well: in

one highly -publicized case, he got Federal officials to provide rental assistance for a mobile home for an 87-year-old African-American woman whom he found living in a wet, rodent-infested utility shed in rural Flora, Mississippi, with only a broken window to climb in and out.

At the 1988 Democratic Convention in Atlanta, Espy received a plum assignment when he was chosen to introduce keynote speaker Ann Richards, then the treasurer of Texas. In his address, Espy paid tribute to Fannie Lou Hamer, the late Mississippi civil rights leader, who gained national attention in the 1960s fighting against the state's segregated delegations to the Democratic convention. Espy said of Hamer, "her words at this convention 24 years ago, her struggle for poor blacks and poor whites, and her vision of a freer, braver, more prosperous America, gave birth to the reforms which have made it possible for everyone to play a meaningful role in this party and for me to stand before you tonight." The speech solidified Espy's growing reputation beyond Mississippi - as Roll Call reported - prompting one pundit to describe him as "the best of the New South." By the time he sought a third term in Congress in 1990, Mike Espy faced no serious political opposition in the district.

"Focus on What Unites, Rather Than What Divides"

That was not exactly the case on Capitol Hill. By building a bi-racial coalition where racial politics was the norm, Mike Espy had demonstrated his willingness to go against the tide. In Congress, he brought the same approach and often steered a more pragmatic, non-ideological course - based on promoting new ideas and new solutions that some found downright troubling. Espy first incurred the wrath of some members of the Congressional Black Caucus when, mindful of the strong support for gun ownership among the rural residents of his district, he endorsed the National Rifle Association. But his support was not just politically expedient, as a student at Howard University, Espy had been president of a rifle and pistol club.

But the biggest difference between Espy and some other Democrats, as well as Republicans, was on his approach to reforming the social welfare system. Espy argued that welfare recipients, poor and working class Americans, and even many in the uncertain middle class must accumulate assets to improve their lives, rather than rely solely on income. As chair of the Hunger Committee's Domestic Task Force, Espy worked with conviction for new strategies to promote asset accumulation including micro-enterprise development to help welfare recipients start small businesses and employee stock ownership plans to help workers gain shares of their companies' stock. He was an early advocate of Individual Development Accounts to provide citizens matching funds to promote personal savings for retirement, education, or to start small businesses. And, he provoked the ire of some Democrats by working closely with then Republican Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp to promote homeownership for residents of public housing.

Espy firmly believed that finding new approaches to old, recalcitrant problems was right for citizens, but also the right politics for the Democratic Party. He joined then-Chairman Bill Clinton on the board of the Democratic Leadership Council, and in December 1990 headed the Council's chapter in Mississippi. Espy rejected criticisms that the Council, by moving the Democrats to the political center, was abandoning minorities, labor, and other traditional

constituencies. As always, he used his persuasiveness to bring people together. "Some believe that reaching out to claim one group causes the other to fall from historical embrace," Espy argued. "I don't believe this is true. The two are not mutually exclusive. This is not a zero sum game. By focusing on the goals that unite us - rather than those that divide us - we can forge a renewed effort that draws support from the economic bottom and middle and adherence from the political left and center."

Mike Espy planned to continue working in Congress for the issues he cared about. Reelected to his fourth term with 78 percent of the vote in 1992, he had become an effective advocate for American agriculture, rural development and nutrition programs. But he had a major problem. His term on the House Budget Committee was ending. He wanted to move over to Appropriations, but was not successful. So he began to think seriously about joining the Administration of his friend, incoming President Bill Clinton. Espy had been one of the first black legislators to endorse Clinton. In fact, to many, it was Espy's early endorsement and passionate advocacy for the Arkansas Governor that helped him gain traction when other black leaders were still wary of Clinton. Espy, ever the path breaker, decided to seek the job of Agriculture Secretary, by offering to the President a now famous note scribbled on the back of a napkin: "10 reasons why Mike Espy should be Secretary of Agriculture." Clinton read Espy's note and gave him a thumbs up. David Letterman would have been proud.

The Secretary

On January 26, 1993, Mike Espy was sworn in as Secretary of Agriculture. His tenure was brief, yet very successful. Mike Espy had barely found the way to his office at USDA when a fatal outbreak of E. coli poisoning occurred in the Pacific Northwest. Espy flew to the region and met with parents of the dead children; met with whistleblowers to get firsthand information about the problems -becoming the first Secretary of Agriculture to do so. He also faced challenges from the meat industry in his efforts to promulgate new regulations to improve meat inspection. His efforts were the precursor to the modernized meat and poultry inspection system that Secretary Glickman later implemented.

From the beginning of his tenure, Espy was deeply involved in the negotiations that led up to the signing of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Opening trade markets for American farmers had been an Espy objective while he was in Congress; at USDA he zeroed in on trade talks, bringing specialized staff into the Secretary's office to ensure the issue was a priority and to establish a direct conduit between the Secretary's office and the negotiations. Espy traveled to Brussels and Geneva numerous times to participate in bilateral trade negotiations, and he traveled to Marakesh for the signing of the GATT. He did similar legwork for the North American Free Trade Agreement, which President Clinton signed in 1994. Secretary Espy was the first Clinton cabinet member to go to China, where he obtained greater access for U.S. wheat, and the first access for U.S. apples to the lucrative Chinese market. His efforts paved the way for the increased cooperation in agriculture that the U.S. and China enjoy today.

Secretary Espy deserves a share of the credit for the Clinton Administration's well-earned reputation for fixing the government's previously broken system of responding to natural disasters. During Espy's tenure, USDA was the lead agency in coordinating disaster response among the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Small Business Administration, and other agencies. Under President Clinton's and Secretary Espy's early leadership, states quickly noticed a difference in the amount of time it took the Executive Branch to respond to natural disasters; the federal government was focused on getting immediate assistance to people, from temporary housing and low-interest farm loans, to nutrition assistance.

Having represented a poor, rural district while in Congress, Secretary Espy also continued his work to improve the infrastructure and bring rural America into the 20th Century. Espy viewed his appointment as Secretary as a great and rare opportunity to affect the lives of many more poor, rural citizens who, in the age of computers, wide-area networks, and satellites, still didn't have access to basic infrastructures that most Americans take for granted. His "Water 2000" Initiative was designed to provide millions in funding to make sure that all Americans had access to running water.

One of Espy's most lasting accomplishments at USDA is the long sought comprehensive reorganization of the massive agency that finally occurred as a result of his leadership. Largely because of his personal efforts, Congress passed the Department of Agriculture Reorganization and Crop Insurance Reform Act of 1994. As a result, USDA agencies were streamlined and hundreds of field offices were co-located. Secretary Espy believed that serving farmers where they were, so they didn't have to leave the farm to get service, made sense for farmers, and he felt that technology could be used to make service delivery more cost-effective. He started the efforts to achieve centralized servicing, both in terms of establishing co-located USDA service centers and allowing people to apply for USDA programs via computer - saving taxpayers' money and creating a more efficient, effective Departmental organization and program delivery structure. He stressed that the Department, though made up of different agencies, was still "one USDA."

Changing the Culture at USDA

As lasting as his impact on USDA's programs and organization are, Espy's most profound impact may have been on USDA's culture. Espy arrived at USDA fully aware of the Department's history with respect to civil rights. The very presence of an African-American as the Secretary of Agriculture raised hopes in many, but also engendered fear and resentment in others, that massive change would occur, perhaps overnight.

Seeking justice for minority farmers was a top Espy priority...When he arrived at USDA, the Department's official position was that USDA did not have "legal authority" to pay damages to minority farmers even in cases of proven discrimination. Only program relief was deemed legal. Espy sought an opinion from the Justice Department and on April 18, 1994, USDA's position was overturned. Assistant Attorney General Walter Dellinger concluded that under the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, USDA could in fact pay damages. The decision opened the door for USDA to negotiate individual settlements with minority farmers as well the eventual mass

settlement of black farmers lawsuits under Secretary Glickman. The Minority Farmers Bill of Rights, which Secretary Espy co-authored while on Capitol Hill, was also funded for the first time only after he became Secretary of Agriculture. Espy worked closely with the Administration and Congress to secure funding for the measure.

Secretary Espy worked for greater diversification in the powerful county committees that control USDA programs at the local level - asking Congress for authority to appoint committee members where necessary to ensure access to Department programs for minority producers. However, the House Agriculture Committee rejected Espy's plan, which would have allowed the Secretary of Agriculture to appoint one representative to each of the county committees where necessary to ensure that minority producers had representation. Espy implemented a moratorium on farm loan foreclosures so USDA could review the loan records and ensure that only those foreclosures that had been carried out properly were allowed to proceed.

Espy also addressed discrimination concerns expressed by USDA's employees. Under his leadership, USDA for the first time used alternative dispute resolution to resolve Equal Employment Opportunity complaints. Espy's civil rights policy also for the first time banned discrimination at USDA on the basis of sexual orientation. Under Espy's leadership, in April 1994, USDA held its first ever Department-wide conference on workforce diversity. The Secretary's own staff and employment decisions reflected the Clinton Administration's belief that the government should "look like America." During Espy's tenure, USDA had more minorities and women in senior leadership positions than at any time in the Department's history.

To enhance civil rights accountability, Secretary Espy for the first time gave the Office of Civil Rights the authority to monitor senior Department officials civil rights record during the performance evaluation process. In an unprecedented move, he withheld or reduced several bonuses for senior executives who did not have adequate documented justification of civil rights accomplishments. And, for a time, Espy postponed the Secretary's Honor Awards program - which angered many employees - to drive home the point that the process of selecting honorees must be fair and open to all. Espy's actions with respect to civil rights, though controversial to some, were welcomed by minorities, women, persons with disabilities, and other employees who had long felt that they were not being treated equally at USDA.

Gone Too Soon

Knowledge that Secretary Espy was under investigation in 1994 for allegedly taking illegal gifts from companies USDA regulated confirmed the fears of some employees that an African-American Secretary would automatically be attacked. Among the questionable items were tickets and airfare to sporting events, and a \$1,200 scholarship to Espy's then-girlfriend, a total of \$30,000 in alleged gratuities for which Espy would potentially face more than 100 years in prison. Espy professed his innocence, contending that a longtime friend paid for the tickets. He had no knowledge that they were paid for by a major agribusiness. Espy also disavowed knowledge of the scholarship, and pleaded with his girlfriend to return it. She refused.

Espy admits that he used poor judgment with respect to some of the alleged gifts; and that he should have taken the allegations more seriously when they surfaced. Yet, he contended that he broke no laws, and that the Independent Counsel was overreaching by trying to enforce a 100-year-old statute aimed at meat inspectors. The statute had never before been applied to a Cabinet official. But the allegations stuck during a time in when official Washington was embroiled in a series of investigations. In a fateful conversation with White House Chief of Staff Leon Panetta, Espy was told that at any other time, in any other administration, he would simply be reprimanded. Espy contended that there were valid explanations for all of the allegations. Yet in October 1994 he resigned from USDA effective December 31, vowing to "clear my good name."

For the next four years, Espy, his family, friends, and many associates endured a sweeping and anguishing \$20-million investigation by Independent Counsel Donald Smaltz. Espy's brother Henry was among those indicted, put on trial, and found innocent; but not before he had lost his seat as Mayor of Clarksdale, Mississippi. Espy's former Chief of Staff, Ronald Blackley, was found guilty of misstatements on a federal financial disclosure form and sentenced to 27 months in federal prison. Prosecutors interviewed Espy's former teachers, his neighbors, his co-workers, even his ex-wife.

During Espy's seven-week trial, the prosecution called more than 70 witnesses; Espy's attorneys called none. Through cross-examining the prosecution's witnesses, they were able to show that Espy had not broken any laws, that he had not knowingly done anything wrong. On November 30, 1998, on his 45th birthday, Mike Espy was found not guilty on every single count. The jury, which hugged him afterwards, said that the verdict would have been delivered sooner - except that several jurors wanted to be foreman so they could announce the decision. Mike Espy's faith in God, and his confidence in himself, had pulled him through the gravest challenge of his life. He emerged vowing to fight against the independent prosecutor statute and his testimony helped Congress eventually decide to let the statute expire.

A Portrait is Finally Unveiled

Through his ordeal, Mike Espy said he learned some valuable lessons, including that he can withstand pressure, and he learned "who my real friends are." His already strong faith was strengthened, he says, as was his devotion to Tae Kwon Do, the martial arts form in which he holds a second-degree black belt. In 1996, Mike also met a beautiful and charming woman while at the Jazz Festival in New Orleans, Portia Ballard. He asked her to marry him three months before his trial. She accepted, and today they live in a stately tree-lined neighborhood in Jackson, Mississippi. Espy is prospering as an attorney in one of Mississippi's most prominent law firms. He also cherishes the time he has to spend with now with his children. In the summer of 2000, he and wife Portia found out that a new baby was on the way, expected in February 2001.

Shortly after his acquittal, on December 10, 1998, Mike Espy returned to the Department of Agriculture where his official portrait was unveiled and hung in its place of honor alongside those of other Secretaries. Just as they had done at that first all-employee meeting, hundreds of USDA employees jammed the Patio to see the Secretary who was a little grayer, a lot wiser, and

still wildly popular in the halls of USDA. President Clinton and other dignitaries were there to sing Espy's praises. Espy had decided to wait on the portrait hanging ceremony until he was exonerated. He just had not expected it to take four years. Typically, Espy's portrait is different from that of the other Agriculture Secretaries. They all posed sitting. A confident Mike Espy is standing tall.

Richard Rominger, Deputy Secretary
U.S. Department of Agriculture
March 1993 - January 2001

Rich Rominger's tenure as Deputy Secretary of the U.S. Department of Agriculture is a literal timeline of the Clinton Administration's record in food and agriculture. As USDA's highest-level appointment spanning the Administration's entire two terms, Rich Rominger has not only been an eyewitness to the history of USDA; he has largely made that history. Accomplishments from March 1993 to January 2001 reflect strong Rominger influence, notably in areas of research and education, and stewardship of the land – farmland protection, conservation of private lands, and advancing sustainable agriculture and small farmer issues.

When President Clinton tapped Rich Rominger for the post, more than food and ag issues weighed in the decision. The Deputy Secretary is USDA's chief operating officer, and he began his term with a Department of 130,000 employees in 1993, and a budget of about \$65 billion.

Rominger's local Congressman (and friend) Vic Fazio decided that Rominger should come to Washington. Rich began getting encouragement from people all over the U.S. whom he had known through years of work on agricultural issues. A few days before Bill Clinton's Inauguration, Rominger was interviewed over breakfast at a Washington hotel by Mike Espy, nominated by Clinton to be Secretary of Agriculture.

With the Rominger selection, President Clinton sought the best of several worlds. On a practical level, a farmer and westerner were a good balance to Secretary Mike Espy's southern, non-farm, Congressional credentials.

And on an administrative level, Rominger's years of involvement in agricultural organizations, notably six years as Director of California's Department of Food and Agriculture, offered leadership credentials in the nation's number one agricultural state. It was during his time as Director that California adopted the strictest and most comprehensive pesticide regulations in the U.S. -- regulations not weakened by succeeding Republican administrations. Rominger also emerged as a strong coalition-builder in California agriculture, establishing working relationships among farm groups, environmental organizations, and the administration.

But to really understand the Rich Rominger who came to Washington in 1993, one needs to reach back much further than California government and his life on the Yolo County family farm. Rominger spoke from time to time about his great-grandparents, the Blickle's and Rominger's, who came from Germany's Black Forest in the 1860s to settle farms in California.

A fourth generation farmer with three sons working the family farm, growing alfalfa, beans, corn, wheat, rice, tomatoes, sunflowers, and other crops, Rominger had more than agriculture know-how. He had a personal farming history and, because of it, a deep respect for the land, and for agriculture's culture and legacy. He said that his father, A. H. Rominger, who once leveled

land in Yolo County with a team of mules and a Fresno scraper, lived to climb up in a 4-wheel-drive tractor with a computer and a laser to watch a grandson make a level field.

Rominger lauded that kind of vast progress in one lifetime. But more often he worried aloud, in speeches and conversation, about farmland loss and the paving over of California's great Central Valley, symptomatic of urbanization across the U.S. A student of the history of agriculture, he frequently cited the fall of great world civilizations because they failed to take care of their soil and their agricultures. This was a long-term perspective that figured strongly in Rominger's influence in the Clinton Administration's conservation initiatives

Rich and Evelyne Rominger came to Washington in March 1993. Secretary Mike Espy and Deputy Secretary Rominger weren't afforded the luxury of a "First 100 Days" honeymoon period before tragedy struck. In just 10 days, four Pacific Northwest youngsters had died from hamburgers tainted with *E. coli* poisoning. From that moment on, food safety was defined as a pivotal Administration issue. Rominger said that reducing microbial pathogens in foods of both plant and animal origins is the most pressing food safety problem today.

In the succeeding seven years, working first with Secretary Espy, then with Secretary Glickman, Rominger was a constant in establishing a science-based inspection system – Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points. By 2000, HACCP had resulted in a sharp drop in the prevalence of *Salmonella* in raw meat and poultry, and a sharp rise in public health protection. Goals were also set to tackle other food safety threats like *Salmonella* and *Listeria*, and Rominger was involved in development of a comprehensive farm-to-table strategy to attack foodborne disease at every link in the food chain.

With a leading role in the debate involving the enactment of the Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 (the 1996 Act), Deputy Secretary Rominger helped guide the historic conservation programs that brought together all the "parts" of a healthy landscape – environmental benefits that include not just soil conservation but protection of wildlife habitat and the health of rivers and streams.

A reader of the great conservationist and writer of the 1940s, Aldo Leopold, Rominger envisioned the 1996 Act as a chance to get things right, to remind folks that they're connected to the land every time they buy a loaf of bread, or watch a flock of geese heading south.

The 1996 Act raised conservation programs to a new prominence. The Wildlife Habitat Incentives Program became the first of its kind specifically dedicated to the protection and restoration of habitat on America's agricultural lands. Through the Environmental Quality Incentives Program, USDA for the first time targeted conservation funds to assistance needed by farmers and ranchers to prevent pollution and protect their natural resources. The new Farmland Protection Program addressed the urgency of keeping working land in agriculture, and reflected Rominger's personal concern about the nation's increasing urbanization.

Most important, in the four years following passage of the 1996 Act, the conservation of private lands agenda was raised to the highest discussion levels in USDA. Working closely with

successive Chiefs of the Natural Resources Conservation Service, Paul Johnson and Pearlie S. Reed, Rominger was an articulate champion of conservation on private lands. USDA through this time built on the progress of the Conservation Reserve Program by creating the Conservation Reserve Enhancement Program, a chance for states to hone in on their own specific problems.

Rominger talked about connections, investing in the health of the entire landscape – public, private and urban lands – and stressing the links between landscape health and the nation's economic health. The Administration's commitment to conservation was also a commitment to a common sense, on-the-ground approach to private lands stewardship. Farmers were viewed as the nation's foremost environmentalists, and the emphasis was on locally-led conservation, supported by the partnership of USDA's technical assistance to private landowners and delivery system in the field.

By the fall of 1999, with private land stewardship established among USDA's top-ranking priorities, Secretary Dan Glickman held five regional conservation forums across the country to start guiding a national conservation strategy for the 21st century. The Deputy headed several of the sessions, which culminated in a National Conservation Summit hosted by the Secretary, in Ames, Iowa in December.

As one result of the Summit and the elevation of private land conservation in the national awareness, by the year 2000 the concept of stewardship payments was being commonly discussed. Public policy discussions centered on whether farmers should reap some reward for excellent conservation, and this was regarded as an idea worthy of consideration for the next Farm Bill.

The Administration made clear that the next Farm Bill should recognize the land as a valuable commodity in its own right. With Deputy Secretary Rominger's backing, it proposed a major, two-year Conservation Initiative. This was largely unfunded in the 2001 spending bill, but nevertheless laid the groundwork for making conservation a centerpiece of farm policy in 2001 and subsequent years.

In the summer of 2000, Deputy Secretary Rominger also headed up several listening sessions across the country geared to tapping community perspective on the range of pressures affecting the nation's ability to hold onto farm and forest lands. These sessions were a direct result of Vice President Gore's Livable Communities Initiative, and the conviction that communities can "grow smartly" – preserve green space, boost economic competitiveness and improve quality of life.

While the Deputy Secretary guided the evolution of the department's conservation agenda, he was also a constant spokesman for the role of research, technology, and education in a successful agriculture. With a deep personal interest in education, Rominger and his wife Evelyn were frequent visitors to the National Agricultural Library in Beltsville, Maryland. Together, they were the impetus for the Abraham Lincoln Council, a new group formed to support the NAL's programs.

Rominger was clearly proud to work with a President who said " We need more agricultural research, not less ..." He was instrumental in making certain that the debate on the 1996 Act went beyond traditional commodity programs and payments to argue for investment in infrastructure-research, conservation, and rural development. What's increasingly important, Rominger stressed, is what the government does outside the traditional commodity programs.

Rominger linked the Administration's commitment to research to broad future questions of feeding a growing world, and achieving world food security without destroying natural resources.

He explored new themes, like carbon sequestration and global climate change, and regarded research and technology as a constant, the foundation of all else. Traveling the world in eight years – to the World Trade Organization Ministerial in Singapore, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome, negotiations in Brussels and Geneva, to Russia, China, Thailand, Vietnam, Egypt, Jordan, South Africa, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Great Britain, Ireland, Mexico, and other countries – Rominger spoke with top officials about their unique trade problems and gained insight into world food needs.

He met several times with Jacques Diouf, Director General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, exchanging views on free and fair trade, and using technology to the benefit of all countries. They agreed on the promise of biotechnology to achieve world food security. They agreed on its safety, on the importance of advancing knowledge in this complex field.

Speaking in Brussels in March 1999, he explained the U.S. regulatory position on biotechnology to European leaders dealing with unfounded and uninformed fear of the new technology in their own countries.

As times grew increasingly tough on America's farms, Rominger talked about science as a key aspect of the new definition of "safety net" for growers and ranchers. The Administration feared that Freedom to Farm had pulled an adequate safety net out from under producers. This proved true as the record farm economy of 1995 soured by 1997. Prices dropped precipitously and world markets dried up, presaging one of the worst farm economy slumps in decades. Weather disasters kept U.S. producers in bad economic straits and by the year 2000 the Administration was providing a record \$28 billion in direct payments.

These tough times on the farm highlighted agriculture's dependence on exports, its huge stake in global competition and economic stability around the world. Deputy Secretary Rominger was a constant player as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Uruguay Round agreements establishing the World Trade Organization were signed in 1994. He attended the disappointing World Trade Organization Ministerial in Seattle in December 1999, and was a constant spokesman for Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China. This was a top Administration priority, the most important U.S. trade legislation since the Uruguay Round, and was signed by President Clinton in the fall of 2000.

Tough times on the farm also highlighted the plight of many parts of rural America. Rominger had helped lead Secretary Glickman's series of five Regional Rural Forums across the country in April 1995. Asked by the Secretary to head up USDA's vast effort on behalf of small farmers, by 1998 he was coordinating the work of the National Commission on Small Farms for USDA. This was the first time since Secretary Bob Bergland held a landmark examination of the structure of American agriculture 20 years before, that an Administration waged a challenge to the "bigger-is-better" credo.

Hard economic times also signaled the need to rethink the concept of safety net and Rominger was involved in discussions with Secretary Glickman and others about how the next Farm Bill could do a better job of providing adequate income assistance.

But Deputy Secretary Rominger had been brought into the Administration by President Bill Clinton as much for his administrative skills as his knowledge and expertise on the Department's pressing issues.

The first order of business in 1993 was to take this "huge, sprawling, and old-line federal agency," in the words of Budget Director Steve Dewhurst, and bring it in line with the new Administration's National Performance Review.

Secretary Espy came to office committed to streamlining and reorganizing USDA. Outgoing Secretary Madigan had already developed a plan for reorganization that he passed on to the new Secretary, who incorporated the priorities of the new Administration. The Department's massive reorganization was linked through a legislative proposal to its plans for downsizing and budget targets.

Overseeing the entire effort was Deputy Secretary Rich Rominger. Following passage of the legislation in October 1994, implementation got underway, and USDA reinvention kicked into full gear. Seven mission areas were established. The culture of USDA slowly began to change, as managing by results and operating more like a business became the norm. Aggressive regulatory reform got underway, with the Department committed to eliminating or reinventing over 80 percent of its regulations. One of the more controversial acts was streamlining a scattered, hybrid field delivery system into "service centers" prepared to help customers as one, unified Department. By the year 2000, under Rominger's leadership, USDA was trimmer by about 22,000 people. USDA was spending about \$1 billion less per year on these operations, a savings that made its way back to the taxpayer or back into programs to better serve USDA constituencies. Rominger has made it clear that these accomplishments will well serve USDA's 21st century customers, but future Administrations must continue to build on this progress.

While managing this landmark effort, Rominger for the full two terms ran the Department's internal operations. He directed the annual budget process, reconciling agency needs and conveying them to the Office of Management and Budget in a timely, concise way. He was involved in securing funding for the modernization of the South Building, and was active in the President's Management Council and other government-wide bodies.

In the troublesome period between the resignation of Secretary Mike Espy in December 1994 and Dan Glickman's swearing-in, in April 1995, Rich Rominger was Acting Secretary, providing leadership to employees and continuity in programs and management.

For the full two terms, he sought to build understanding and unity within employee ranks by meeting with employees of Native American, Asian-Pacific, and Black heritage. And in the winter months of 1997, Deputy Secretary Rominger traveled the country with Secretary Glickman, urging customers and employees at 12 sessions to talk honestly and frankly about civil rights at USDA. This was the first time a Secretary had come to hear farmers throughout the South, and some called it a "historic occasion."

As a result, most of the 92 recommendations of the Civil Rights Action Team were implemented by the end of 2000. Outreach was improved, USDA's Office of Civil Rights was reorganized, a landmark settlement of a class action suit was achieved, and progress made on many fronts. Most important, largely under Deputy Secretary Rominger's leadership, USDA set its sights on doing great things in its third century of service to the nation, through a culture of fairness and inclusion, dignity and respect to employees and customers alike.

Part II. Index of Archival Documents

NOTE: These documents were sent to the Wichita State University Library.
The documents marked with an asterisk (*) were also sent to the Clinton Presidential Library.

A-1. Legacy of Hope at USDA Foreword by Secretary Dan Glickman (Departmentwide documents)

1. Secretary's Annual Report 1993
2. Secretary's Annual Report 1994
3. Secretary's Annual Report 1995 (Unpublished)
4. Secretary's Annual Report 1998
5. Secretary's Annual Report 1999
6. Harvest of Hope: A Record of Progress at the U.S. Department of Agriculture
7. Poster, USDA: The People's Department*
8. Agriculture Fact Books for 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2000*
 - Guide to USDA Programs for American Indians and Alaska Natives
 - Selected materials concerning programs for American Indians
 - Department of Agriculture: List of Political Appointees*
 - Selected press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

NOTE: Inclusion of privately produced documents is for illustrative purposes only and is not an endorsement, implied or intended, of the content of the document.

Chapter 1.

Building a 21st Century Farm Policy: Defining Government's Role as Farmers' Risks Rise

Farm Service Agency

A. State Accomplishments in Farm Programs under the Clinton Administration

1. 1999 Matt Kilbourne and Brent Talley*
2. 2000 Matt Kilbourne and Brent Talley*
3. 1993-99 David Reagan and Jared Smith*

B. Statements and Testimonies

1. 1993

- December 8, 1993
Statement of Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger before the House Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Department of Operations and Nutrition.

2. 1997

- February 26, 1997
Statement of Secretary Glickman before the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives.

3. 1998

- February 12, 1998
Statement of Secretary Glickman before the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. House of Representatives.
- February 24, 1998
Statement of Under Secretary Schumacher, Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services, and Keith Kelly, Administrator for the Farm Service Agency.

4. 1999

- February 9, 1999
Statement of Secretary Dan Glickman witnessing before the Senate Appropriations Committee
- March 2, 1999
Statement of Keith Kelly, Administrator for the Farm Service Agency, before the Appropriations Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, and Related Agencies. United States Senate.
- June 16, 1999
Statement of Dan Glickman before the House Agriculture Committee United States House of Representatives.
- February 16, 2000
Statement by Secretary Dan Glickman before the Subcommittee on Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, U.S. House of Representatives.

C. News Releases

1. 1996*

- April 4, 1996 "Glickman Pledges Swift Implementation of New Farm Law"*

- April 11, 1996 "USDA Announces One-Time Signup Period for Enrollment in Production Flexibility Contracts Under New Farm Legislation"*
- May 20, 1996 "One-Time Signup Period for Enrollment in Production Flexibility Contracts Under New Farm Legislation Begins Today"*
- July 1, 1996 "Clinton Administration Announces Additional Assistance to Disaster-Stricken Livestock Producers"*
- July 12, 1996 "Over 90 Percent of Eligible Acres Enrolled in 7-year Production Flexibility Contracts' Grace Period for 'Late Filing' Announced"*
- August 19, 1996 "USDA Announces Results of One-time Enrollment in 7 year Production Flexibility Contracts"*
- August 23, 1996 "Clinton Administration to Help Drought-Impacted Areas"*
- September 9, 1996 "Clinton Administration Pledges Help For Hurricane Victims"*
- September 13, 1996 "Production Flexibility Contract Payments for 1996 Crops to Total 5.3 Billion"*

2. 1997*

- January 31, 1997 "Clinton Administration Provides Additional Disaster Relief to Farmers in the Dakotas"*
- January 16, 1997 "Cattle Stranded in Dakotas' Snow Get USDA Emergency Disaster Aid"*
- February 26, 1997 "USDA Prepared to Implement New, Environmentally-Focused Conservation Reserve Program"*
- February 12, 1997 "Remarks of Secretary Dan Glickman"*
- March 13, 1997 "USDA Provides Disaster Assistance to Stricken Areas of the U.S."*
- April 22, 1997 "USDA Helps Upper-Midwest Flood Victims"*
- April 24, 1997 "USDA Refunds 16.4 Million to Dairy Farmers for Reduced 1996 Marketing's"*
- April 24, 1997 "USDA Extends Additional Assistance to Upper-Midwest Flood Victims"*
- June 19, 1997 "Glickman Announces implementation of 50 Million Program to help Livestock Producers"*
- June 13, 1997 "Glickman says USDA Working to Deliver Disaster Relief"*
- August 8, 1997 "USDA to Aid Drought-Stricken Farmers in Mid-Atlantic States"*
- August 28, 1997 "USDA to make Final Payments to Livestock Producers Starting September 2"*
- August 20, 1997 "USDA Ready to Assist Drought-Stricken Maryland Farmers"*
- September 22, 1997 "USDA to Provide 24 Million Pounds of Nonfat Dry Milk as Bonus to Food Program"*
- December 31, 1997 "Clinton Administration Provides Disaster Assistance to Livestock Producers in New Mexico"*
- December 17, 1997 "USDA Announces American Indian Livestock Feed Program"*

3. 1998*

- January 13, 1998 "USDA acts to Provide Assistance to New England Storm Victims"*
- May 28, 1998 "FSA Announces Initiative to Feed the Poor"*
- July 24, 1998 "West Virginia Farm Service agency Launches hay drive for Florida farmers"*
- July 9, 1998 "President Clinton Announces Agriculture Disaster Assistance for All Florida Counties"*
- August 19, 1998 "USDA Launches 'Hay Net' to Aid Drought Distressed Livestock"*
- August 19, 1998 "Farmers Save on Income Taxes under Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997"*
- August 12, 1998 "Statement of Secretary Glickman on Presidents Signing of the Emergency Far Financial Relief Act"*
- September 11, 1998 "New Law gives Farmers Choice of When they Get Production Flexibility Contract Payments"*
- October 29, 1998 "USDA to Provide 2,8 Billion in Loss Assistance"*
- November 13, 1998 "USDA Issues Nearly 10 Million to Dairy Producers"*
- November 13, 1998 "Glickman Announces 4 Million in Payments to Livestock Producers"*
- November 13, 1998 "Glickman Announces 10 Million Reimbursement to Orchard Growers"*

- November 12, 1998 "USDA Announces Livestock Assistance Program"*
- December 31, 1998 "USDA Defers Loan Payments for Struggling Farmers"*
- December 21, 1998 Glickman Announces New Program for American Indian Tribes"*
- December 12, 1998 "President Clinton Announces Emergency Aid to Farmers"*

4. 1999*

- January 12, 1999 "Glickman Announces New Drought Policy Commission"*
- January 12, 1999 "Glickman Announces Plan for Direct Cash Payments to Hog Producers"*
- February 8, 1999 "Vice President Gore Announces Faster and more Efficient Loan Program for America's Farmers"*
- March 18, 1999 "Glickman Announces Measures to Reduce Financial Burden On Farm Loan Borrowers"*
- March 8, 1999 "Glickman Announces Relief for Dairy Farmers as Milk Prices Fall"*
- April 22, 1999 "Farm Credit Requirements Eased with New Regulation"*
- April 9, 1999 "Glickman Announces Payments Begin Under Livestock Assistance Program"*
- April 9, 1999 "Glickman Announces Sign-up for Dairy Relief Payments"*
- April 9, 1999 "New FSA Regulation Tackles Seed Crop Losses"*
- May 27, 1999 "Glickman Announces Release of 2 Billion in Disaster Assistance Funds for American Farmers"*
- May 19, 1999 "USDA Announces Flood compensation Program for Farmers"*
- May 13, 1999 "Glickman Announces Publication of Rule for Dairy Market Loss Assistance Program"*
- May 10, 1999 "FSA Expands New Guaranteed Loan Program -Kelly Calls for More Funds"*
- June 30, 1999 "Glickman to Provide Additional 333 Million in Farm Loans"*
- July 18, 1999 "Vice President Gore Announces Plans for Additional Cash Payments for Struggling Hog Farmers"*
- August 13, 1999 "Secretary of Agriculture Dan Glickman on Transfer of Funds for Emergency Farm Loans"*
- October 28, 1999 "USDA to Deliver Emergency Farm Assistance Quickly"*
- October 13, 1999 "Statement on Senate Passage of Emergency and Disaster Relief for American Farmers"*
- November 23, 1999 "Glickman Announces Sign-Up for 1.2 Billion Crop Disaster Program"*
- November 18, 1999 "Glickman Announces New Disaster Relief for Livestock Producers"*
- November 8, 1999 "Emergency Payments are already in the Hands of Farmers"*
- December 28, 1999 "Glickman Announces 328 Million to Assist Tobacco Farmers"*

5. 2000*

- January 19, 2000 "Glickman Announces 125 Million in Aid to Dairy Farmers"*
- January 13, 2000 "Glickman Announces 100 Million Assistance Package For Sheep and Lamb Farmers"*
- February 8, 2000 "Glickman Announces 475 Million in Aid to Oilseed Producers"*
- March 24, 2000 "USDA Announces New Disaster Relief for Livestock Losses"*
- March 13, 2000 "Glickman Announces 231 Million For Drought Relief"*
- March 13, 2000 "Glickman Announces New Pasture Recovery Program"*
- April 4, 2000 "Kelly Announces Final Installment of 1.3 Billion in 1999 Crop Disaster Program Funds for American Farmers"*
- May 9, 2000 "Glickman Announces New Loans For On-Farm Storage"*
- May 4, 2000 "Glickman Sends Legislation to Congress to Help Farmers"*
- June 29, 2000 "New Legislation Reduces Credit Crunch for Farmers"*
- June 19, 2000 "Glickman Details Plans for 30 Million to help sheep and Lamb Farmers"*
- June 5, 2000 "Glickman Announces 462 Million in Payments to Oilseed Producers"*
- July 20, 2000 "Glickman Announces 340 Million to Assist Tobacco Farmers"*
- July 11, 2000 "USDA Pays Farmers \$40 Million Under The Pasture Recovery Program"*
- July 10, 2000 "USDA to Make \$79 Million in Payments For Cottonseed Program"*
- August 30, 2000 "USDA to Provide \$5.5 Million in Supplemental AMTA Payments"*

- August 17, 2000 "USDA Announces Signup Period For the Sugar Payment-In-Kind Program"*
- August 8, 2000 "Relief on the way for some USDA Farm Loan Borrowers"*
- August 1, 2000 "USDA Announces Program to AID U.S. Sugar Growers"*
- October 31, 2000 "Glickman Announces \$300 Million Bioenergy Program"*
- October 23, 2000 "USDA Announces Wool and Mohair Market Loss Assistance Program"*
- October 11, 2000 "Glickman Announces Sign Up for \$500 Million Oilseed Program"*
- October 6, 2000 "Glickman Expands USDA Assistance for Farm Storage"*
- October 6, 2000 "USDA Announces Peanut Market Assistance Program II (PMAP II) for 2000-Crop Peanuts"*
- October 5, 2000 "\$340 Million in Payments to Assist Tobacco Farmers Begins"*
- October 2, 2000 "USDA Provides Record Assistance To Farmers"*

D. Fact Sheets and Programs*

1. 1997*

January	Foundation Livestock Relief Program*
February	Continuous Sign-Up for High Priority Conservation Practices* Outreach Programs* 15th Sign-Up Period CRP*
March	Potato Diversion Program*
August	Administrative Offset* 1996-97 Dairy Price Support Program*
October	Production Flexibility Contracts and Marketing Assistance Loans* 16th Sign-Up Period* CRP- Maryland State Enhancement Program*

2. 1998*

February	Dairy Indemnity Payment Program*
March	Nonrecourse Marketing Assistance Loans and Loan Deficiency Payments*
June	1998 Tree Assistance Program* The Dairy Production Disaster Assistance Program*
July	CRP-New York City Enhancement Program* Soybean and Minor Oilseeds*
August	Assigning FSA and CCC Program Payments*
October	18th Sign-Up Period*

3. 1999*

January	Production Flexibility Contracts, Marketing Loss Assistance Payments. And Marketing Assistance Loans*
February	Production Flexibility Contract Data and Marketing Assistance Loan Rates-Crop Years 1996-1998* Sugar Program*
March	Crop Loss Disaster Assistance Program*
June	Feed Grains* CRP- Delaware Enhancement Program*
July	Farm Loan Programs Funding* CRP- Tree Thinning* Small Hog Operation Payment (SHOP)* Services for Farmers*

August	Other Tobaccos*
September	Disaster Assistance for Farmers*
	Environmental Benefits Index*
	Burley Tobacco*
October	20th Sign-Up Period*
	Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2000*
	Agricultural Mediation Program*
	American Indian Livestock Feed Program*
	CRP*
November	Non-Insured Crop Disaster Assistance Program*
	Payment Eligibility and Limitations *
	Commodity Credit Corporation*
	Cooperative Marketing Association Program*
December	Crop Disaster Program*
	Livestock Assistance Program*
	Extra Long Staple Cotton*

4. 2000*

January	Livestock Indemnity Program*
	FSA Committee Election*
	County Committee Election, Eligibility to Vote and Hold Office as a County Committee Member*
February	Mohair Recourse Loan Program*
	Oilseed Payment Program*
	Commodity Operations*
March	Loans for Socially Disadvantaged Persons*
	Livestock Indemnity Program - Contract Growers*
	Pasture Recovery Program*
	Loans for Socially Disadvantaged Persons*
April	Emergency Conservation Program*
	CRP-Pennsylvania Enhancement Program*
	CRP-Ohio Enhancement Program*
May	Peanuts*
	CRP*
	Beneficial Interest Requirements for Loans and Loan Deficiency Payments*
June	Oilseeds*
	Agricultural Risk Protection Act of 2000*
July	Commodity Certificates*
	CRP-Michigan Enhancement Program*
August	Farm Storage Facility Loan Program*
	Honey Recourse Loan Program*
	Lamb Meat Adjustment Assistance Program*
	Rice*
	County Committee Election*
September	Upland Cotton*
	Loans for Beginning Farmers and Ranchers*
	Flue-Cured Tobacco*
	CRP-Missouri Enhancement Program*
November	Biomass Pilot Projects*

Disaster Debt Set-Aside Program*
Farm Loans*
CRP-North Dakota Enhancement Program*
Primary and Preservation Loan Servicing for Delinquent FSA Borrowers*
Wool and Mohair Market Loss Assistance Program*
Farm Loans*
Services For Farmers*
USDA Commodities hit the Alaska Highway*
Shared Appreciation Agreements*
Dairy Market Loss Assistance Program (DMLA)*
Emergency Loan Assistance*
Announced Bioenergy Program: 7CFR 1424*

D. Pamphlets

The conservation Reserve Enhancement Program State and Federal Partnership for Environmental Improvement
The Conservation Reserve Program Innovation in Environmental Improvement
The Conservation Reserve Program Continuos Sign-Up High Priority Practices
Food Assistance through the Commodity Credit Corporation
Foreign Investors Who Hold Agricultural Land
Rural Youth Loans
Minority Farmers Enriching the Tapestry of American Agriculture
Producers Guide to FSA Loan Program
Serving America's Farmers and Ranchers
Natural Disaster Assistance
The U.S. Department of Agriculture's Natural Resources Programs
Lenders Guide to FSA Loan Programs
The Conservation Reserve Program

E. County Loan Rate and Loan Deficiency Payment Rate Comparisons

1998 Crops of Corn, Soybean, and Wheat

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

NOTE: Inclusion of privately produced documents is for illustrative purposes only and is not an endorsement, implied or intended, of the content of the document.

Chapter 1. Risk Management Agency

Federal Crop Insurance Reform Act of 1994
Reform Guide*

Reform Guide (Spanish)*
Briefing Kit*
1995 Report to Congress*
1996 Report to Congress*
Agricultural Communicators Kit*
Press Release announcing passage*
Fact Sheet*
Manager's Bulletin's implementing FCIC Board of Directors*
Crop Insurance Reform Congressional Briefing*

Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996

Overhead presentation
Script
Buy-up Video
Press release announcing implementation of Risk Management Education*
Introduction to Risk Management Brochure*
Building a Risk Management Plan Guide*
Manager's Bulletin's implementing provisions*
Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996*
Conference Report*

Agriculture Risk Protection Act of 2000 (ARPA)

Statement from Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman regarding passage*
Fact Sheet*
Press releases announcing passage*
Manager's Bulletin's announcing implementation of ARPA*
State Crop Insurance Profiles
Testimony of Agriculture Secretary Glickman (September 27, 2000)
Glickman's Letter to Conferees (May 19, 2000)
Glickman's Letter to Conferees (April 5, 2000)
Agriculture Risk Protection Act of 2000
Conference Report

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

Chapter 1.

Foreign Agricultural Service

GSM-South Korea

1. April 20, 1998 - news release, "\$400 Million More in Credit Guarantees For the Republic of Korea"
2. April 24, 1998 - news release, "Glickman Announces Credit Guarantee Allocations to Korea"

Global Food for Education

1. September 7, 2000 - news release, "USDA Invites Proposals for Global Food for Education Initiative"*
2. August 2000 - Secretary Dan Glickman's Monthly Column
3. July 27, 2000 - Testimony of Secretary Dan Glickman before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
4. July 23, 2000 - White House announcement, "The Clinton-Gore Administration: Building a Stronger Global Partnership for International Development Through Support for Basic Education and Childhood Nutrition"*

International, Cooperation and Development

1. US Action Plan on Food Security, "Solutions to Hunger." Issue Date March 1999.*
2. US National Progress Report on Implementation of the US Action Plan on Food Security and World Food Summit Commitments, "A Millennium Free from Hunger." Fall of 2000.*

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

NOTE: Inclusion of privately produced documents is for illustrative purposes only and is not an endorsement, implied or intended, of the content of the document.

Chapter 1.

Agricultural Marketing Service

Eight Years of AMS

Mandatory Price Reporting

News Release:

Glickman Announces Mandatory Livestock Price Reporting
March 14, 2000

National Organic Program

News Releases:

Glickman Announces Publication of National Organic Program Proposed Rule
Dec. 15, 1997*

USDA to Make Fundamental Changes in Revised Proposed Rule on Organic Standards
May 8, 1998*

USDA Internet Project Recognized by Harvard University
April 28, 1999*

USDA Internet Project Innovations in American Government Awards Finalist
Sept. 2, 1999*

Glickman Announces New Proposal for National Organic Standards
March 7, 2000*

More than 40,000 Comments Received on Revised Organic Food Standards—Final Rule by
Year's End*
July 18, 2000

Fact Sheets, December 1997*

Fact Sheets, March 2000*

Federal Milk Marketing Order Reform

News Releases

USDA Seeks Industry Input on Dairy Marketing Order Reform
May 1, 1996

USDA Releases Three Milk Order Reform Reports
March 7, 1997

Glickman Proposal Will Streamline Dairy Program And Stabilize Price
Jan. 23, 1998

Glickman Extends Comment Period, Announces Listening Sessions on Federal Milk Order Reform Rule
Feb. 26, 1998

Glickman Announces Milk Marketing Order Reform
March 31, 1999

Dairy Farmers to Vote on USDA Milk Market Order Reform Plan
July 14, 1999

Dairy Farmers Approve Milk Marketing Order Reforms
Aug. 30, 1999

Fact Sheets, January 1998

Fact Sheets, March 1999

Support for Small Farmers

News Releases

Glickman Lauds Farmers Markets for Consumers and Farmers
Aug. 23, 1996*

USDA Kicks Off 1997 Farmers Market Season
June 27, 1997*

U.S. Department of Agriculture's Farmers Market Activities (Backgrounder)
Oct. 3, 1997*

USDA Awards Eight Grants for Agricultural Marketing , Research

June 16, 1998*

Glickman Awards \$500,000 to Help Improve Markets for U.S. Agricultural Products
May 11, 1999*

Glickman Announces National Farmers Market Week
Aug. 20, 1999*

USDA Awards 15 Grants for marketing Improvement Projects
Sept. 28, 1999*

Small Farmers Find Success in Marketing to Schools
Nov. 30, 1999*

Glickman Awards \$600,000 for Marketing Projects
July 25, 2000*

Farmers Markets on the Rise
Aug. 1, 2000*

Glickman Announces Grants for Marketing Improvement
Sept. 25, 2000*

USDA Releases Report on Farm-to School Alliances
Nov. 6, 2000*

Publications

Farmers Market Directories, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000

Small Farmer Success Story (4 Bulletins) (November 1999)

How Local Farmers and School Food Service Buyers (November 1999)

A Time to Act: A Report of the USDA National Commission on Small Farms, January 1998.*

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

NOTE: Inclusion of privately produced documents is for illustrative purposes only and is not an endorsement, implied or intended, of the content of the document.

Chapter 1.

Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service

Animal Diseases

Backgrounder, "APHIS' Commitment to Resolving the Brucellosis Problem at Yellowstone," Veterinary Services (VS), APHIS, USDA, December 1994.

Cooperative Brucellosis Eradication Program: Brucellosis Emergency Action Plan, VS, APHIS, USDA, August 1, 1997.

USDA News Release No. 0016.99, "Glickman Announces Rule on Accelerated Pseudorabies Eradication Effort," January 14, 1999.

Selected press releases and press clippings.

NOTE: Inclusion of privately produced documents is for illustrative purposes only and is not an endorsement, implied or intended, of the content of the document.

Chapter 2. Building a Geography of Hope: Protecting Resources Across Public, Private Lands

Natural Resources Conservation Service

Wetlands Reserve Program (WRP)

Brochure – "Wetlands Reserve Program, Restoring America's Wetlands"*

National Conservation Buffer Initiative (NCBC)

Public Law 104-127 – April 4, 1996 Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996

Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 Conference Report to accompany H.R. 2854*

1997 Press Release, "Clinton Administration Launches New Initiative To Install Conservation Buffers" <<http://www.usda.gov/news/releases/1997/04/0125>>

Clean Water Action Plan

Clean Water Action Plan (3 hard copies attached) can also be found at
<<http://www.cleanwater.gov/action/toc.html>>*

1999 Anniversary Report

2000 Anniversary Report

Watershed Success Stories

Unified Strategy for Animal Feeding Operations

Invasive Plant Species

- Yenish, J. and M.E. Stannard. 1998. Weed Management for Cover Establishment and Maintenance on Conservation Program Acres. Washington State University Extension Bulletin 1867. 21pp.
- Stannard, M.E. 1993. Basic Biology, Distribution, and Vegetative Suppression of Four Knapweed Species in Washington. USDA NRCS Plant Materials Technical Note. Spokane WA.
- Edelen, W.J. and W.A. Crowder. 1997. Russian Olive (*Elaeagnus angustifolia*) Control Experiment Underway (Washington). Restoration and Management Notes 15:198-199.
- Edelen, W.J. and W.A. Crowder. 1997. Multi-treatment Experiment Tests Ways to Control Reed Canarygrass in Wet Meadow (Washington). Restoration & Management Notes 15:198.
- Stannard, M.E., S.C. Bunting, D.C. Thill. 2000. Impact of Bluebunch Wheatgrass on Establishment of Yellow Starthistle. Society for Range Management Annual Meeting. Presentation with abstract.
- Tupper, K, G. Delaney, and M.E. Stannard. 1994. Revegetation of a typical canyon grassland dominated by yellow starthistle and cheatgrass. Proced. WA Weed Conference, Soap Lake, WA.
- Lym, R.G. and D.A. Tober. 1997. Competitive grasses for leafy spurge (*Euphorbia esula*) reduction. Weed Technology. Vol. 11:787-792. 6p.

Stannard, M. 1993. Technical Note 25: Overview of the basic biology, distribution and vegetative suppression of four knapweed species in Washington. USDA-NRCS Pullman Plant Materials Center, Spokane, WA. Dec. 1993. 9p.

Locally Led Conservation

NRCS fact sheet on Locally Led Conservation, issued March 1999.*

The booklet "Locally Led Conservation - An Overview for Conservation Districts", published by NACD in December 1996.*

Part 500 - entitled "Locally Led Conservation" - of the NRCS Conservation Programs Manual. This part of the CPM will be posted on the agency's electronic directives web site in the near future.*

The NRCS Areawide Planning Course, which heavily emphasizes locally led conservation.*

Article entitled "What Exactly is Locally Led Conservation?" published in the winter 1999 issue of the NACD Tuesday Letter.*

Locally led conservation materials on the NRCS Programs web site and the NACD web site.

Products 006 (Guidance for Soil and Water Conservation Districts in Setting Locally Led Natural Resource Priorities), 021 (Developing Your Skills to Involve Communities in Implementing Locally Led Conservation), and 028 (Grass Roots Planning Local Solutions for Global Issues: The Otter Lake Story) on the NRCS Social Sciences Institute web site.*

Resource Conservation and Development (RC&D)

3/17/98 press release, "Glickman Announces 25 New Resource Conservation and Development Areas"*

Departmental Regulation #1042-76 dated 10/18/00 "Resource Conservation and Development Policy Advisory Board"*

Informational Memorandum to the Secretary signed by Glenda Humiston, Deputy Undersecretary, Natural Resources and Environment dated September 1, 2000. This memo describes the work of the USDA Policy Advisory Board and summarizes the activities of USDA re RC&D.*

1996 Farm Bill

Public Law 104-127 - April 4, 1996 Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996

Federal Agriculture Improvement and Reform Act of 1996 Conference Report to accompany H.R. 2854

Sustainable Development*

"Promoting Sustainable Development," by Adela Backiel, Office of the Chief Economist, U.S. Department of Agriculture.*

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

Chapter 2.

Forest Service

USDA Forest Service. June 1992. Organizational Directory.

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USDA, Forest Service. February 1993. USDA Briefing Book. Washington, D.C.*

USDA Forest Service. June 1993. Organizational Directory.

President William J. Clinton and Vice President Albert Gore, Jr. July 1, 1993. The Forest Plan: For A Sustainable Economy and A Sustainable Environment. Washington, D.C.*

Hopps, Michael. September/October 1993. "A Talk with Jim Lyons," American Forests.

Neel, Roy. November 29, 1993. Memorandum to Secretary Babbitt, Secretary Brown, Secretary Cisneros, Secretary Espy, Secretary Reich, Administrator Browner, Administrator Bowles, Leon Panetta, Bob Rubin, Katie McGinty, Joan Baggett, Mark Gearan, Carol Rasco. Subject: Office of Forestry and Economic Development.*

USDA, Forest Service. May 1994. Ecosystem Management. Report of the Forest Service, Fiscal Year 1993. Washington, DC.

USDA, Forest Service. June 1994. Organizational Directory.

USDA, Forest Service. 1994. Implementing the President's Forest Plan 1994. Pacific Northwest Region and Pacific Southwest Region.*

USDA, DOI, DOC. August 17, 1994. South Canyon Fire: Investigation of the 14 Fatalities that Occurred on July 6, 1994 Near Glenwood Springs, Colorado.

U.S. Department of the Interior and U.S. Department of Agriculture. 1995. Federal Wildland Fire Management: Policy and Program Review - Final Report. National Interagency Fire Center. Boise, Idaho.*

McGinty, Kathleen. January 27, 1995. Memorandum to distribution. Subject: Implementation of the President's Northwest Forest Plan.*

Thomas, Jack Ward. Rolland Schmitten. Mike Dombeck. Mollie Beattie. March 8, 1995. Memorandum. Subject: Consultation Timelines and Process, Streamlining for Forest Health Projects.*

Lowe, John E. Elaine Zielinski. John Hughes. Martha Hahn. Dale Bosworth. Ed Hastey. Lynn Sprague. Michael Spear. William Stelle, Jr. Hilda Diaz-Soltero. May 11, 1995. Memorandum. Subject: Streamlining Consultation Procedures Under Section 7 of the Endangered Species Act.*

Lyons, Jim. May 24, 1995. Memorandum to Chief of Staff Leon Panetta. Subject: Follow-up to Discussion with the President Regarding Salvage Timber Sales.*

USDA, Forest Service. June 1995. Organizational Directory.

USDA, Forest Service. June 1995. Report of the Forest Service, Fiscal Year 1994. Washington, DC.

Secretary Dan Glickman. June 19, 1995. Memorandum to Vice President Alber Gore, Jr. and Leon Penatta. Subject. June 15-16 Pacific Northwest Trip.*

President Bill Clinton. June 29, 1995. Statement by the President regarding Public Law 104-19.*

President William J. Clinton. August 1, 1995. Memorandum. Subject: Implementing the Timber Related Provisions to Public Law 104-19.*

Secretary Dan Glickman. August 3, 1995. "Salvage Sales Will Follow Law." The Oregonian. Portland, Oregon.

Lyons, Jim. George Frampton, Jr. Douglass Hall. Robert Armstrong. Steven Herman. Jack Ward Thomas. Mollie Beattie. Rolland Schmitten. Mike Dombeck. August 9, 1995. Memorandum of Agreement on Timber Salvage Related Activities Under Public Law 104-19.

Tuchman, E. Thomas, Kent P. Connaughton. Lisa E. Freedman, and Clarence B. Moriawaki. 1996. The Northwest Forest Plan: A Report to the President and Congress. U.S.D.A. Office of Forestry and Economic Assistance. Portland, Oregon.*

USDA, Forest Service. June 1996. Report of the Forest Service, Fiscal Year 1995. Washington, DC.

The Keystone Center. October 1996. The Keystone National Policy Dialogue on Ecosystem Management. Colorado.

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USDFA, Forest Service. November 1997. Establishment and Modification of National Forest Boundaries and National Grasslands: A Chronological Record 1891-1996. Washington, D.C.

USDA, Forest Service. May 1998. Report of the Forest Service, Fiscal Year 1997. Washington, DC.

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USDA, EPA, USDI, DOC, DOD, Army Corps of Engineers, DOJ, DOT, DOE, TVA. 1998. Clean Water Action Plan. The Second Year Report: Progress Through Partnerships. Washington, D.C.

USDA, Forest Service. April 1999. Charting Our Future...A Nation's Natural Resource Legacy. FS-630.

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Glickman, Dan and Bruce Babbitt. 2000. Managing the Impact of Wildfire on Communities and the Environment: A Report to the President in Response to the Wildfires of 2000. September 8, 2000.*

USDA, Forest Service. January 2000. Land Areas of the National Forest System. FS-383.

USDA, Forest Service. January 2000. Water and the Forest Service. Washington, D.C.

Anderson, Jeremy. February 1, 2000. Fact Sheet: Healthy Investments in Rural Environments (HIRE).

Lyons, James R. Mike Dombeck. March 1, 2000. Letter to U.S. Forest Service National Leadership Team.*

Lyons, James R. Mike Dombeck. March 1, 2000. Memorandum to National Leadership Team, Forest Planning Rule Advisory Team, and Forest Planning Rule Writing Team. Subject: Final Guidance for Forest Planning Rules.*

President Bill Clinton. April 15, 2000. A Proclamation by the President of the United States of America. Establishment of the Giant Sequoia National Monument.

Lyons, James R. Mike Dombeck. April 21, 2000. Informational Memorandum for the Secretary. Subject: Clearance of Proposed Rule for Conservation of Roadless Areas.

USDA Forest Service. June 2000. Organizational Directory.*

USDA, Forest Service. September 2000. Working Together for Rural America: 2000 and Beyond. Part A- Integrating Natural Resource Management and Rural Community Assistance. A Strategic Plan for the USDA Forest Service Economic Action Programs. FS-681.

Lyons, Jim. October 13, 2000. Memorandum to John Spotila. Subject: Forest Planning Rules and Maximization of Net Public Benefits.

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USDA. Forest Service. 2000. Forest Service Roadless Area Conservation: Final Environmental Impact Statement. Washington Office. November, 2000.

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Notes from Chief Jack Ward Thomas regarding his appointment as Chief and his retirement. They also discuss his priorities as chief.*

Notes and articles about Chief Dale Robertson and his resignation.*

January 5, 2001- Remarks by Secretary Dan Glickman on Preserving America's Forest, Roadless Announcement.

Photos, videos, and documents relating to Baca Ranch

Materials relating to New World Mine

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

Speeches of the Honorable James R. Lyons Under Secretary, Natural Resources and Environment

1993

January 1993 - Partners Outdoors Conference, Orlando, FL

May 17, 1993 - "Forestry Issues and Opportunity: A Time for Change" American Forest and Paper Association, Washington, D.C.

August 23, 1993 - "Creating a Forestry for the 21st Century" Back to the Future Conference, Portland, OR

September 13, 1993 - "Framing Forest Resource Policy for the Future" The National and World Forest Resource Base: The United States National Policy Vision, National Association of State Foresters, Bar Harbor, Maine

September 15, 1993 - "Urban and Community Forestry: Partnerships for Urban Resources" 6th National Urban Forestry Conference

September 25, 1993 - "A Vision of Forestry for the 21st Century" Honoring the 30th Anniversary of the Pinchot Institute of Conservation, Milford, Pennsylvania

October 25, 1993 - Minority Participation in Forestry and Natural Resources Sciences Conference, Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon

November 6, 1993 - Protecting America's Rivers, Riparian Areas and Watersheds: New Direction for USDA, A Presentation at the American Rivers Conference, Arlington, Virginia

November 8, 1993 - "Preparing Today to Meet Tomorrow's Challenges" National Convention of the Society of American Foresters, Indianapolis, Indiana

November 10, 1993 - "Urban Conservation" National Urban and Community Conservation Symposium, Minneapolis, Minnesota

November 17, 1993 - Remarks Announcing Jack Ward Thomas as Chief, USDA Forest Service,
Washington, DC

December 2, 1993 - "USDA Forest Service Ski Partnerships: A Model for the Future" - A Presentation at Times-Mirror Ski Industry Week, Beaver Creek, Colorado

December 6, 1993 - "Talking Points-Sustainable Forest Management" Long-term Sustainability of the Pacific Northwest Forests Western Forestry and Conservation Association, Seattle, WA

1994

January 19, 1994 - "New directions in rural community assistance at USDA" National Conference on Developing Partnerships for Forest Stewardship and Rural Economic Development

January 25, 1994 - Talking Points - Chesapeake Bay Agreement Signing Ceremony, Annapolis, MD

January 31, 1994 - "Rangeland Management Changes for the National Forests and Grasslands" National Association of conservation Districts, Phoenix, Arizona

February 2-3, 1994 - Pesticide Use/Risk Reduction Workshop, Washington, D.C.

February 16, 1994 - Northwest Watershed Restoration/partnership Conference, Tacoma, Washington

March 8, 1994 - National Ski Areas Association Western Trade Show, Squaw Valley, California

March 25, 1994 - "Politics, Policy, and Profitable Stewardship" Pioneer Hi-Bred Conference on Profitable Stewardship, Denver, Colorado

April 11, 1994 - Northwest Forestry Association Annual Meeting, Kennewick, Washington

May 16, 1994 - National Wetlands MOA Information Meeting, Radisson Hotel, St. Paul, Minnesota

May 20, 1994 - Commencement Ceremonies for the Class of 1994, Cook College, Rutgers University

June 8, 1994 - "The Importance of Human Dimensions for Future Land Management Policy" The Fifth International Symposium on Society and Resources Management, Fort Collins, Colorado

June 15, 1994 - Access America's Great Outdoors Press Conference, Grand Hyatt, Washington, D.C.

June 21, 1994 - Forest Service Leadership Conference, Houston, Texas

June 28, 1994 - National Association of RC&D Councils, Memphis, Tennessee

July 13, 1994 - Statement Announcing the Release of National Resources Inventory Data, Washington, D.C.

August 26, 1994 - Remarks for Farm Bill Work Session, Regional Wildlife needs Assessment, Arlington, Virginia

September 22, 1994 - "Good Business" NACD Business Alliance Council, Washington, D.C.

September 27, 1994 - Texas State Soil and Water Conservation Board, Austin, Texas

September 28, 1994 - National Association of State Foresters, Nebraska City, Nebraska

October 8, 1994 - "Back to the Future: Stewardship of Wilderness for the 21st Century and Beyond" Northwest Wilderness and Parks Conference, Seattle, WA

October 24, 1994 - "Wildlife Conservation in the Metropolitan Environment" Urban Landscapes for People and Wildlife: A National Symposium on Urban Wildlife, Bellevue, Washington

November 3, 1994 - Sustainable Development and Natural Resources in the Columbia River Basin, Yakima Valley, Washington

November 10, 1994 - Terrene Institute's Conference - U.S. Trust Responsibilities to Tribal Nations, Denver, Colorado

November 22, 1994 - 1994 New Jersey Conservation Conference, Cranbury, New Jersey

November 30, 1994 - Winter sports Partnership Remarks - Beaver Creek and Times Mirror Magazines' Ski Industry Week, Beaver Creek, CO

1996

January 19, 1996 - "The Changing Nature of Public Lands in Changing Western Economic

March 9, 1995 - Soil and Water Conservation Society, Washington, D.C.

March 14, 1995 - "American Rivers" Urban Rivers Symposium, Washington, D.C.

March 21, 1995 - "Straight talk" Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association, San Antonio, Texas

March 28, 1995 - 60th North American Wildlife and Natural Resources Conference, Washington, D.C.

May 1, 1995 - National Association of Farm Broadcasters: Washington Watch, Washington, D.C.

May 13, 1995 - "A Time for Reflection" Presented at the Commencement of the College of Natural Resources, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO

May 18, 1995 - Celebration of the Land Media Event, Washington, D.C.

May 22, 1995 - National Watershed Coalition, Charleston, West Virginia

June 2, 1995 - Searching for Solutions: Solving the Bull Trout Puzzle, Boise, Idaho

June 9, 1995 - "Public Lands, Private Concerns" Boom in Mountain Living Conference, Keystone, Colorado

July 31, 1995 - "Urban Ecosystem Management: Science and Policy" Ecological Society of America 1995 Annual Meeting, Snowbird, Utah

August 8, 1995 - Natural Resources Conservation Service Business Meeting, Des Moines, Iowa

August 8, 1995 - Soil and Water Conservation Society's 50th Anniversary Meeting, Des Moines, Iowa

August 28, 1995 - "Science and Policy: A Political Conundrum for the 104th Congress" American Fisheries Society 125th Annual Meeting, Tampa, Florida

September 15, 1995 - "Communication and Policy for the urban Ecosystem: Affecting Policy at the National level: 7th National Urban Forest Conference, New York, New York

September 19, 1995 - Pulp and Paperworkers Resource Council National Meeting, Stevens Point, Wisconsin

September 19, 1995 - "One Stop Service" USDA Service Center Kickoff, Washington, D.C.

October 30, 1995 - National Congress of American Indians, San Diego, California

December 11, 1995 - "Partnerships in Prescribed Fire in Colorado" Governor Romer's Prescribed Fire Workshop, Colorado State University, Ft. Collins, CO

1996

January 19, 1996 - "The Changing Nature of Public Lands in Changing Western Economies," Club 20 Conference, Montrose, CO

January 22, 1996 - "Downsizing Government – The Impacts and Realities," Maryland Association of Soil Conservation Districts, Annapolis, MD

January 29, 1996 - National Cattlemen's Association Annual Convention and Trade Show, San Antonio, TX

February 5, 1996 - "Reclaiming our Roots," National Association of Conservation Districts Town Hall Meeting, Las Vegas, NV

February 26, 1996 - Urban Conservation 2000: A Virtual Reality, Seattle, WA

March 14, 1996 - "Forest Service as Environmental Leaders," Signing of an MOU with Salt Lake Olympic Organizing Committee, Salt Lake City, UT

March 27, 1996 - National 4-H Conference, Chevy Chase, MD

April 1, 1996 - "Nature's Role Within the City," The Bright New City 30th Anniversary Dinner, Chicago, IL

April 11, 1996 - Pacific Fisheries Enhancement Committee, San Francisco, CA

April 23, 1996 - "Moving from Partnerships to Action," Eastern Lands and Resources Council, Western Lands Commission Association, Washington, DC

May 4, 1996 - Visions for the River Conference, Los Angeles, CA

May 30, 1996 - "Equal Rights and Opportunity," USDA Civil Rights Forum, Washington, DC

June 6, 1996 - World Pork Expo, National Pork Producers Council, Des Moines, IA

June 10, 1996 - American Agri-Women Annual Fly-In, Washington, DC

July 8, 1996 - "Honoring Our Conservation Commitment to Native Americans," Soil and Water Conservation Society Annual Meeting, Keystone, CO

July 25, 1996 - Quail Unlimited Conference, Nashville, TN

August 14, 1996 - Delta Conference, Memphis, TN

August 26, 1996 - NACD Leadership Conference, Jackson Hole, WY

September 14, 1996 - "For the Sake of Salmon," Forum on Sustainable Fisheries, Seattle, WA

September 16-18, 1996 - "The National Forest Management Act in a Changing Society," NFMA Conference, University of Colorado Law School, Boulder, CO

September 24, 1996 - "Polluted Runoff - Effects on Water Quality and Quantity," Non-Point Source Pollution and Stormwater Management Conference, University of Colorado Law School, Boulder, CO

October 7, 1996 - National Leadership Team Meeting, Ballston, VA

October 28, 1996 - "Ecosystem Management and Science," Geological Society of America Annual Meeting Earth System Summit, Denver, CO

October 28-31, 1996 - NRCS Business Meeting, Albuquerque, NM

1997

January 23, 1997 - USDA Sustainable Development Council, Washington, DC

January 31, 1997 - "For the Sake of the Salmon," Executive Meeting, Portland, OR

February 4, 1997 - "Conservation on Private Lands in the 21st Century," NACD, Kansas City, MO

March 3, 1997 - "The Rapid Evolution of Ecosystem Assessments," Interior Columbia Basin Ecosystem Management Project Conference, Spokane, WA

April 3, 1997 - "New Directions in National Forest Management: Opportunities for Collaboration," 1997 Annual Meeting of the Northwest Forestry Association, Blaine, Wa

April 15, 1997 - "Stretching Public Resources," Joint Spring Conference of Western Land Commissioners Association and Eastern Lands and Resources Council,

April 23, 1997 - "Responding to Change: Values, Perceptions, and New Directions in National Forest Management," 1997 Annual Meeting of the Independent Forest Products Association, Washington, DC

May 9, 1997 - "Visit Us - Come and Enjoy our Brand of Outdoor Recreation," Recreation in the 21st Century: Increasing Demand, Increasing Recognition, Idaho Governors Tourism Conference

May 20, 1997 - 1997 Annual Meeting of the American Forest and Paper Association, Washington, DC

June 7, 1997 - "The Value of Place in Preserving our Urban Environments," Philadelphia URP Natural Resources Conference, Pennsylvania Convention Center, Philadelphia, PA

June 12, 1997 - "Coming Together to Restore our Rivers," 3rd National Urban Rivers Symposium and Awards, Crystal City, VA

July 28, 1997 - "The Value of Partnerships for Fish and Wildlife Resources," Western Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies' 75th Annual Conference, Sparks, NV

September 15, 1997 - "Forest Sustainability - A Collaborative Adventure into the Future," Annual Meeting of the National Association of State Foresters, Salt Lake City, UT

September 23, 1997 - National Watershed Water Quality Project Symposium, Washington, DC

September 26, 1997 - Public Lands Council Annual Meeting, Bozeman, MT

October 6, 1997 - Statement before the Hughes' Commission, Annapolis, MD

October 7, 1997 - "The Urban Initiative," Northeast Conference on Urban Soils, New York, NY

October 15, 1997 - Talking Points for the Dedication Ceremony and Ribbon Cutting for the Wildlife Habitat Management Institute

November 3, 1997 - "Natural Resource Issues in Urban America," A Presentation at the National Urban and Community Conference, Columbus, OH

November 10, 1997 - "In Praise of Local Leadership," California Association of Resource Conservation Districts Annual Conference, Fresno, CA

November 20, 1997 - "Improving Opportunities for the Hispanic Community at USDA," Annual Meeting of the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, Phoenix, AZ

November 21, 1997 - "Changing the Forest Service's Product Mix: A Marketing Strategy for Improving Agency Performance," Company's Coming Conference for Region-3 Leadership Team Meeting of the Forest Service, Tucson, AZ

November 24, 1997 - Texas A&M University, College Station, TX

December 10, 1997 - "Improving USDA's Conservation Performance," National Roundtable on Productivity and Conservation: Working Toward Common Goals, Washington, DC

1998

January 13, 1998 - "Fresh Winds to Blow Away the Smoke of Today's Forest Battles," Partners Outdoors VII, Orlando, FL

February 5, 1998 - The Federal Lands Committee, National Cattlemen's Beef Association Centennial Meeting, Denver, CO

February 18, 1998 - Natural Resources Conservation Service, State Conservationists Meeting, Arlington, VA

March 2, 1998 - National Association of State Departments of Agriculture, 1998 Mid-Year Legislative Conference, Washington, DC

March 24, 1998 - The Association of Metropolitan Water Agencies, 1998 Legislative and Regulatory Conference, Washington, DC

April 3, 1998 - National Society of Minorities in Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Related Science, (MANNRS), Des Moines, IA

April 4, 1998 - "The Value of Wilderness in the Urban Landscape," Chicago Wilderness Conference, Chicago, IL

April 16, 1998 - "From Confrontation to Collaboration: Seeking a Truce in the War on the West," University of Montana Public Land and Resources Law Review Conference, "Coming Together on the Land: Evaluating Collaborative Process in Natural Resource Management," Missoula, MT

May 18, 1998 - Association of Metropolitan Sewerage Agencies, Washington, DC

June 8, 1998 - Outdoor Recreation Week: Outdoor Recreation on the National Forests

June 18, 1998 - Coalition of Minority Employees, Civil Rights Training Seminar, Washington, DC

July 4, 1998 - Lewis Clark Dedication Ceremony, Great Falls, MT

July 30, 1998 - The American Heritage Rivers Designation Ceremony, Wilkes-Barre, PA

September 24, 1998 - Public Lands Council Annual Meeting, St. George, UT

September 25, 1998 - "Beyond the Boundaries: Building Gateway Partnerships for the 21st Century," Western States Tourism Policy Council, Tacoma, WA

October 5, 1998 - "Private Land Stewardship: The Conservation Initiative for 2000 and Beyond," National Association of State Forester's Meeting, Williamsburg, VA

October 9, 1998 - U.S. Conference of Mayors, Sitka, AK

October 27, 1998 - "Reflections on Changes in the Forest Service: Building on a New Conservation Legacy," Forest Service National Leadership Conference, Phoenix, AZ

October 29, 1998 - "Toward a Second Century of Conservation Leadership," Forest Service National Leadership Conference, Phoenix, AZ

November 20, 1998 - "Connecting Environmental Awareness and the 2002 Olympics: An Opportunity We Can't Afford to Miss," Salt Lake Organizing Committee's Olympic Environmental Education Leadership Summit, Park City, UT

November 24, 1998 - "Conservation Challenges in the Urban Environment," 1998 New Jersey Conservation Conference, Somerset, NJ

December 15, 1998 - Forest Service All Employees Meeting, Jefferson Auditorium, Washington, DC

1999

January 5, 1999 - "Strategic Alliances in the Recreation Field," Partners Outdoors VIII, Orlando, FL

January 28, 1999 - Urban Resources Partnership National Steering Meeting, Los Angeles, CA

January 30, 1999 - Opening Ceremonies of the 1999 World Alpine Ski Championships, Vail, CO

February 22, 1999 - Association of State and Interstate Water Pollution Control Agencies

February 22, 1999 - "Progress Through Partnership: Improving Conservation Program Implementation through Partnership with the States," National Association of State Departments of Agriculture 1999 Mid-Year Conference, Washington, DC

February 26, 1999 - "Managing Our National Forest Transportation System for the 21st Century," Journal of Forestry, Society of American Foresters

March 2, 1999 - Innovative Solutions to Ending Hunger Through Self-Reliance

March 13, 1999 - Administration's Priorities under the Clean Water Action Plan

March 26, 1999 - "Western Land Issues: Conservation Challenges and Opportunities," 1999 Snake River Symposium, Land and Natural Resource Issues

April 7, 1999 - "Six Years of Progress: Assessing Changes in Natural Resource Policies and Programs in the Pacific Northwest," The Northwest Forestry Association, Skamania, WA

April 21, 1999 - "Perspectives on Natural Resource and Conservation Issues Affecting the Western States," Annual Meeting of the Western Lands Commissioners Association, Washington, DC

April 29, 1999 - Arbor Day Celebration, Chicago, IL

May 4, 1999 - "Opportunities for Investing in Urban Landscapes," 4th International Symposium on Urban Wildlife Conservation, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ

May 14, 1999 - Commencement of Southern University A&M

June 5, 1999 - National Trails Day

June 5, 1999 - "Celebrating Partnership in Protecting Long Island Sound," 1999 Save the Sound Gala, Rye, NY

June 7-11, 1999 - "Come Enjoy Your National Forests," Great Outdoors Week, Washington, DC

June 30, 1999 - Oregon Ecosystem Health Demonstration Projects, Portland, OR

August 11, 1999 - Sand Harbor, Lake Tahoe, CA

September 21, 1999 - "Expanding the Role of Recreation and Tourism on National Forests," World Travel and Eco-Tourism Congress

September 27, 1999 - "Value Added Alaska Forest Products: A Workshop on Technology & Utilization Opportunities," Sitka, AK

September 28, 1999 - "Working Together for the Future of SE Alaska Communities," Annual Meeting of the Southeast Conference of Mayors, Sitka, AK

October 7, 1999 - "Building on Leopold's Legacy: Conservation for a New Century," Closing Plenary Session, Madison, WI

October 20, 1999 - Private Land Conservation Forum Series, Portland, OR

October 21, 1999 - Private Land Conservation Forum, Denver, CO

October 26, 1999 - Private Land Conservation Forum, Syracuse, NY

December 9, 1999 - Capitol Holiday Tree Lighting Ceremony, West Law of the Capitol,
Washington, DC

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

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Chapter 3. From Tragedy Comes a Revolution in Food Safety

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Chapter 6.

Reviving the Rural American Dream: Empowering Country Communities

Rural Development

- 1 March 4 1994 Policy Memorandum Signed by Bob J. Nash, Under Secretary for Rural Development*
2. April 8 1996 Memorandum Signed by Jill Long Thompson, Under Secretary for Rural Development*
3. Videotape of the 65th Anniversary Celebration of the Creation of the Rural Electric Administration and of the 50th Anniversary of the Creation of the Rural Telecommunications Act
4. One Copy of the Report Delta Vision/Delta Voices, the Mississippi Delta Beyond 2000. This copy is for Secretary Glickman's papers. The Department of Transportation is supplying copies for the White House to be included in the Clinton Presidential Library collection. The report was prepared by the Department of Transportation, but a detailed employee of USDA, Lee Powell, is the author.

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

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Chapter 7.

Reorganization and Innovation: FDR's Machine Gets Lean and Focused

Office of Budget and Program Analysis

1. "USDA Reorganization Implementation: Key Facts and Projections Briefing Book," November 17, 1993 (the "White Book")
Contents include: Introduction, Personnel Projections, Budget Savings, Farm Service Agency Operations, Conservation Program Operations, Rural Development Program Operations, National Appeals Division, Streamlining Non-County Based Agencies, Streamlining County Based Agencies*
2. Hearing Briefing Book, for House Committee on Agriculture, Subcommittee on Department Operations and Nutrition, December 1993.*
3. USDA Organization Chart, May 1992.*
4. USDA Organization Chart, August 2000.*
5. "Downsizing: A View from the Inside," by Stephen B. Dewhurst, Director, USDA Office of Budget and Program Analysis," in Public Budgeting & Finance, Spring 1996 (Volume 16, Number 1).
6. Overview of USDA Reorganization*
7. Federal Crop Insurance Reform and Department of Agriculture Reorganization Act of 1994.

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

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Chapter 8.

Emerging Issues: Facing New Challenges, Seizing New Opportunities

Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service

Biotechnology

History of Biotechnology at USDA During the Clinton Administration, by Michael Schechtman

Invasive Species

Harmful Non-Indigenous Species in the United States, Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress, Washington, DC, 1993.

Agricultural Quarantine Inspection Data, Work Accomplishment Data System End-of-Year Reports, Plant Protection and Quarantine (PPQ), APHIS, USDA, 1993-2000.

Presidential Executive Order 13112, "Invasive Species," The White House, Washington, DC, February 3, 1999.

Factsheet, "The Mediterranean Fruit Fly," PPQ, APHIS, USDA, May 1999.

Safeguarding American Plant Resources: A Stakeholder Review of the APHIS-PPQ Safeguarding System, National Plant Board, July 1, 1999.

Pimentel, D., L. Lach, R. Zuniga, D. Morrison, "Environmental and economic costs associated with non-indigenous species in the United States," *Bioscience* 50:53-65 2000.

"Title IV—Plant Protection Act," Public Law 106-224, The Agriculture Risk Protection Act of 2000, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, June 20, 2000.

Factsheet, "Invasive Species," PPQ, APHIS, USDA, October 1999.

Report of the Secretary Recommending Action on Invasive Species, USDA, Washington, DC, October 2000.*

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

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Chapter 9.

Biographies of Secretary Dan Glickman, Secretary Mike Espy, and Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger

Correspondence, Secretary Dan Glickman and White House

1. Correspondence between Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman and President Clinton
2. Correspondence between Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman and Vice President Gore
3. Correspondence between Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman and White House Chief of Staff

Department of State Materials Pertaining to Secretary Glickman's Trip to Africa, 1999

Secretary Glickman's Principal Speeches

Deputy Secretary Richard Rominger's Principal Speeches

Documents Relating to Tenure of Mike Espy, Secretary of Agriculture

1. Nov. 4, 1994 - Decision Memorandum to establish Blue Ribbon Task Force to Create Greater Equal Opportunity and Diversity within USDA.*
2. Reprint from January 1993 issue of *Reader's Digest* - "USDA: Bureaucracy Out of Control"*
3. June 23, (year not given, but probably 1994) article from *The Washington Post* - "Espy's Plea Unanswered; House Panel Buries Diversification Proposal"
4. Transcript of February 3, 1993, hearing of the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture concerning "The Economic Outlook for Agriculture and Rural America"
5. Transcript of February 11, 1993, news conference concerning E. coli outbreak in Washington state.
6. Pamphlet - "Changing the Culture at the U.S. Department of Agriculture"*

7. June 29, 1993 - Memorandum from Secretary Espy to Under and Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads concerning making changes in the Senior Executive Service performance rating system.*
8. October 8, 1993 - Memorandum from Secretary Espy to Under and Assistant Secretaries and Agency Heads concerning making changes in the Senior Executive Service performance rating system.*
9. May 18, 1994 - Memorandum from Office of Civil Rights Enforcement Director David Montoya to Agency Heads announcing the establishment of the USDA Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Employees (GLOBE) group.*
10. April 18, 1994 - Memorandum to USDA's General Counsel, James Gilliland, from Assistant Attorney General Walter Dellinger concerning USDA's authority to award damages in program discrimination complaints*
11. November 4, 1993 - Memorandum from Mike Alexander, Executive Assistant, Office of the Secretary, USDA, to Under and Assistant Secretaries, Agency Heads, staff office directors, and agency civil rights directors concerning "Changes in EEO and Civil Rights at USDA"*
12. August 1993 - Memorandum from Secretary Espy to Agency Heads announcing the first-ever USDA Workforce Diversity Conference held in February 1994.*
13. April 11, 1994 - Letter from Secretary Espy to Mr. Charles Tisdale, Editor and Publisher of *The Jackson Advocate*, responding to article entitled "Black Land Loss Grows Under Sec. Espy's Regime"*
14. Copy of aforementioned *Jackson Advocate* article*
15. May 1994 - Final Report, "USDA Dispute Resolution Board Pilot Project Evaluation"*
16. May 5 - 7, 1994 - Materials from USDA Senior Policy Retreat in Oxford, Maryland.*
17. November 10, 1994 - Memorandum (and attachments) from USDA's Office of Budget and Program Analysis to the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations concerning an "Assessment of Funding for Land-Grant Institutions"*
18. June 1993 - Materials from USDA Policy Staff Retreat concerning "Reinventing USDA"*

Selected press releases and press clippings.

* Documents sent to the Clinton Presidential Library

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Chapter 10. Additional Materials

Economic Research Service

The costs of foodborne illness:

Buzby, Jean C., Tanya Roberts, C. -T. Jordan Lin, and James M. MacDonald. *Bacterial Foodborne Disease: Medical Costs and Productivity Losses*. AER No. 741. U.S. Dept. of Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., August 1996.

Frenzen, P. and Buzby, J. "ERS Updates Foodborne Illness Costs," in Crutchfield, S., and T. Roberts. "Food Safety in the 1990's." *FoodReview*, vol. 23, issue 3 (Forthcoming Dec. 2000) U.S. Dept. of Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.

Golan, Elise H., Stephen J. Vogel, Paul D. Frenzen, and Katherine L. Ralston. *Tracing the Costs and Benefits of Improvements in Food Safety*. AER. No. 791. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., October 2000.

The Benefits of China's Accession to WTO:

Colby, Hunter, J. Michael Price, and Francis C. Tuan. "China's WTO Accession Would Boost U.S. Ag Exports and Farm Income," *Agricultural Outlook*, AGO-269, March 2000, U.S. Dept. of Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.

Estimates for Food Security in America:

Nord, Mark, Kyle Jemison, and Gary Bickel. *Measuring Food Security in the United States: Prevalence of Food Insecurity and Hunger, by State, 1996-1998*. FANRR No. 2. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., September 1999.

Andrews, Margaret, Mark Nord, Gary Bickel, and Steven Carlson. *Household Food Security in the United States, 1999*. FANRR No. 8, U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., Fall 2000.

Quantifying Waste in the Food System:

Scott, Linda, Kathryn Lipton, Alden Manchester, and Victor Oliveira. "Estimating and Addressing America's Food Loss," *FoodReview*, vol. 20, issue 1 (January-April 1997) U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.

Price, Charlene C. and J. Michael Harris. *Increasing Food Recovery from Farmers' Markets: A Preliminary Analysis*. FANRR No. 4. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., January 2000.

Understanding the Structural Characteristics of American Farm Households:

Hoppe, Robert A., Janet E. Perry, and David Banker. ERS Farm Typology for a Diverse Ag Sector. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., no date.

Hoppe, Robert A., Janet Perry, and David Banker. "ERS Farm Typology: Classifying a Diverse Ag Sector," *Agricultural Outlook*, AGO-266, November 1999, U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.

Understanding the Relationship Between Food Stamps and Welfare Reform:

Wilde, Park, Peggy Cook, Craig Gundersen, Mark Nord, and Laura Tiehen. *The Decline in Food Stamp Program Participation in the 1990's*. FANRR No. 7. U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv., June 2000.

Kuhn, Betsey A., Michael LeBlanc, and Craig Gundersen. 1997. "The Food Stamp Program, Welfare Reform, and the Aggregate Economy," *Amer. J. Agr. Econ.* Vol. 79, No. 5, pp. 1595-1599.

Gundersen, Craig. "Economic Growth, Welfare Reform, and the Food Stamp Program," *FoodReview*, vol. 21, issue 1 (January-April 1998) U.S. Dept. Agr., Econ. Res. Serv.

Millennium Office

Millennium Green Submission to the Clinton Library

1. Millennium Green Brochure, produced and printed in Fall of 2000.*
2. Previous Millennium Green Brochure.*
3. First Lady's Talking points and Speech, Secretary Glickman's Speech, and invitation. Millennium Green Kick-off Event at the USDA. December 15, 2000.*
4. Invitation for the Dedication of a Tree to commemorate the "Day of Remembrance," on Tuesday May 2, 2000 plus information on the event..
5. Invitation to and other materials from the dedication and naming of the George Washington Carver Center. Wednesday, October 6, 1999.
6. Invitation to WIC's Silver Anniversary Celebration. Wednesday, September 15, 1999.
7. Invitation to Silent Witnesses: America's Historic Trees on Wednesday, March 15.
8. Invitation to "Wonderful Outdoor World," Earth Day 2000 Campout. May 6-7, 2000.
9. Two decision memorandums for the director of scheduling concerning NRCS Millennium Events: April 13-14, 2000 and April 15, 2000.*

10. Invitation to the Millennium Celebration honoring Senator Thad Cochran. September 25, 2000.
11. Invitation to the USDA Millennium Lecture, "Elimination of Global Hunger," September 25, 2000.
12. Invitation to Operation Silent Witness, A Pearl Harbor Remembrance. Thursday, December 7, 2000.
13. The Millennium Green Logo, "Honor the Past-Imagine the Future."
14. Music and Lyrics to the song, "Heaven on Earth," by Alan Menken. The Millennium Green Theme song.
15. Century Farms Initiative. Announcement of the effort by Secretary Glickman, Description of the Initiative and listing of century farms across the country. April 2000.
16. Information on "the establishment of the Department of Agriculture (USDA)" "Hall of Heroes." November 15, 1999.
17. Talking Points, Secretary Glickman, National Agricultural Library Commemorative Event. June 11, 2000.
18. Information on the Tree Musketeers, one of Millennium Green's most important partners, and on their million tree campaign.
19. Millennium Trails brochure, First Lady announces Millennium Trails, "Hillary's hike blazes millennium trails," and "Trail Named a National Gem." The Denver Post. Article sites the Millennium Council.
20. "Millennium Communities Handbook."
21. National Agricultural Library: A New Millennium of Service. An Official USDA Millennium Celebration, April 12, 2000.
22. Invitation to the Dedication of the Henry A. Wallace Room, Remarks by Senator George McGovern, and Henry A. Wallace Speech notes on agriculture and technology. September 29, 1999.
23. Invitation to the Millennium Lecture, "Eating in the 20th Century." Wednesday, May 3, 2000.
24. First Lady Hillary Clinton, "Talking it Over." Creators Syndicate. Column for Publication. April 25, 2000.

25. Invitation to a Millennium Event at the Baltimore and Annapolis Trail with the First Lady, Secretary Slater, and the Honorable Robert Stanton. Monday, October 5, 1998.

26. News Release: Rominger Unveils Millennium Grove Plan. March 15, 2000.

27. Versailles Student Planting Effort, March 15, 2000.

28. America the Beautiful Fund (An important Millennium Green Partner) news releases that relate to Millennium Green.

Selected press releases and press clippings.

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Chapter 11.

Oral History Videotapes, Audiotape, and Transcripts of Interviews Done in November and December of 2000

Oral history interviews of the following USDA officials during the Clinton Administration are included:

Videotaped Interviews and Transcripts

Richard Rominger, Deputy Secretary of Agriculture
Mike Dunn, Under Secretary, Marketing and Regulatory Programs
Miley Gonzalez, Under Secretary, Research, Education and Economics
Jill Long Thompson, Under Secretary, Rural Development
James Lyons, Under Secretary, Natural Resources and Environment
Gus Schumacher, Under Secretary, Farm and Foreign Agricultural Services
Shirley Watkins, Under Secretary for Food, Nutrition, and Consumer Services
Katherine Woteki, Under Secretary for Food Safety
Mike Taylor, Former Administrator, Food Safety and Inspection Service
Keith Collins, Chief Economist
Steve Dewhurst, Director, Office of Budget and Program Analysis
Rosalind Gray, Director, Office of Civil Rights
Ken Ackerman, Administrator, Risk Management Agency
Mike Dombeck, Chief, Forest Service
Kathleen Merrigan, Administrator, Agricultural Marketing Service
Christopher McLean, Administrator, Rural Utilities Service
Joel Berg, Director, Coordinator of Food Security (and USDA AmeriCorps Program)
Patricia Garamendi, Deputy Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service (and Director, USDA Millennium Office),

Audiotaped Interview and Transcript

Mike Espy, Former Secretary of Agriculture

Chapter 12.

Weekly Reports from the Office of the Secretary, U.S. Department of Agriculture, to the White House

Chapter 13.

Secretary Dan Glickman Video Highlights

1. **Legacy of Hope at USDA**
 - Nomination in White House Rose Garden
 - Confirmation Hearings
 - Inauguration Ceremony
 - a. **Farming and Trade**
 - Testimonial with farming family
 - Drought Recovery
 - Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China-PNTR
 - b. **Food Safety and Nutrition**
 - Children Nutrition-Eat Smart Play Hard
 - National Nutrition Summit
 - National Summit on Food Recovery
 - Food Aid to Africa
 - Meat and Poultry Hot line
 - Cooking meat with Vice President Gore
 - c. **National Resources & Environment**
 - CRP Program
 - U.S. Forest Service
 - The Millennium Green Project
 - d. **Market and Regulatory Programs**
 - Organic Labeling
 - Asian Long Horn Beetle
 - Biotech Initiative
 - e. **Research, Education and Economics**
 - f. **Multi-Mission Areas**
 - Civil Rights at USDA
 - Hall of Heroes Ceremony
 - g. **Humor**
2. **Network TV Appearances**
 3. **Career Montage**
 4. **Video Archives**
 - 1994-2000

1994 Video Archive

Date	Event	# of Tapes
5. 12/28/94	C-SPAN-POTUS- Glickman Announcementfor AG.SEC	1

1995 Video Archive

Date	Event	# of Tapes
6. 3/21/95	Confirmation Hearing	12
7. 3/21/95	C-SPAN Confirmation Hearing	2
8. 3/30/95	Inauguration Ceremony	2
9. 3/31/95	Meeting w/Employees-Patio Ceremony	1
10. 4/25/95	National Rural Conference-Iowa University	1
11. 5/28/95	CBS "60 Minutes" Sugar/Farm Subsidies	1
12. 6/27/95	NBC-Ostrich Farming Industry	1
13. 6/28/95	CNN Meat Inspection Standards	1
14. 7/13/95	ABC-GOP Regulatory Reform/Meat Insp.	1
15. 8/95	Minority Agriculture Loan Participation Program	1
16. 8/3/95	Secretary's Roundtable Forum on Crop Insurance	3
17. 8/11/95	USDA Service Center Implementation w/SEC	1
18. 8/24/95	CNN Poultry labeling w/SEC	1
19. 9/12/95	USDA Wasting Money on Unused Phone equip.	1
20. 9/22/95	ABC -Bacteria/Meat Supply	1
21. 9/22/95	NETS-Food Stamp Fraud	1
22. 11/5/95	CBS "60 Minutes" The Danish Study	1
23. 12/8/95	CBS-USDA announces campaign to stem nations Huge Waste of food	3
24. 12/15/95	U.S. Farm Show-Orion Samuelson Intv.w/SEC	2
25. 12/20/95	NBC-Taxpayers/Fleeced/Ethanol subsidies	1

1996 Video Archive

Date	Event	# of Tapes
26. 2/28/96	Sugar Ads-Anti & Pro	1
27. 3/13/96	NETS-Poultry Inspection	2
28. 3/25/96	Americacorps w/SEC	1
29. 3/28/96	CNN "Talkback Live" Mad Cow Disease	1
30. 4/6/96	WGN-US Farm Report-Signing of Farm Bill	1
31. 4/6/96	USDA-Understanding the New Farm Bill	1
32. 4/30/96	CBS-Falling Cattle Prices	1
33. 5/5/96	CBS-"60 Minutes" Timber Wars	1
34. 5/15/96	CBS-Sen. Dole's speech	1
35. 5/30/96	ABC-Federal Aid/ Farmers drought	1
36. 7/6/96	NETS-POTUS plan to cut bacteria in meats	1

37. 7/9/96	NETS-HACCP/Meat Inspection/USDA	1
38. 9/17/96	NBC-"Dateline" Salmonella Bac. In eggs	1
39. 9/18/96	US Coalition Minority Employees w/SEC	1
40. 10/30/96	Kansas Community Kitchen	1
41. 11/26/96	CNN-Food and Health Report	

1997 Video Archive

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u># of Tapes</u>
42. 3/97	USDA-Students help USDA Food Rescue	1
43. 3/20/97	BET-Civil Rights at USDA	1
44. 3/26/97	NETS-Food Stamp Fraud	1
45. 7/7/97	CBS-Discrimination Black Farmers	1
46. 7/10/97	CNN-New Food Oil to lower cholesterol	1
47. 10/8/97	CNN-Food Safety Bill	1
48. 10/21/97	RD Telemedicine	1
49. 10/21/97	Robert Kennedy Memorial Golf Tournament 1	
50. 11/17/97	ABC-Jack in the Box	1
51. 12/17/97	CNN-Discrimination Black Farmers	1

1998 Video Archive

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u># of Tapes</u>
52. 1/20/98	CBS-Dairy Lobby-Gov. Regulations	1
53. 2/7/98	NBC-Feeding the Hungry w/OSEC	1
54. 2/18/98	ABC-"Primetime Live" Forest Service	1
55. 3/13/98	CNN-SEC in GA. Inspecting Crop Damage	1
56. 3/15/98	BET-Civil Rights @USDA	2
57. 3/19/98	NETS-Salmonella spray on chicks	1
58. 5/8/98	NETS-USDA sets new for new standards For Labeling Organic Foods	1
59. 5/11/98	CNN-Concern about Safety of Imp. food	1
60. 7/29/98	ABC-SEC inspects damage drought TX/OK	1
61. 10/8/98	CNN-Food Safety Bill/E-Coli	1
62. 11/9/98	ABC-Genetic Engineering-is it safe?	1
63. 11/13/98	ABC-Black Farmers Discrimination	1
64. 11/29/98	CBS- Black Farmers Discrimination	1
65. 12/10/98	POTUs w/OSEC-Espy Dedication	
66. 12/17/98	USDA-SEC Year End Press Conference	

1999 Video Archive

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u># of Tapes</u>
67. 4/29/99	SEC Ag. Policy Speech-Purdue	1
68. 5/18/99	ABC-Farmers losing their land	1
69. 8/1/99	NETS-Drought Conditions and Relief	1
70. 8/2/99	NETS-Drought-Food Stamps & Crops	1
71. 8/3/99	NETS-Drought-Farm Aid-Stamps-Sugar lbl.	3
72. 9/20/99	CNN-POTUS Speech on NC Floods	1
73. 10/25/99	ABC-Interview w/SEC on GMO foods	1
74. 11/3/99	USDA-Millennium series "Why we choose the foods we eat"	1
75. 11/18/99	CBS-Child Nutrition in School Lunches	1
76. 12/7/99	Land Conservation Summit	1
77. 1999	USDA Intro. Video on Food Recovery	1
78. 1999	USDA "Community Food Security"	1
79. 1999	Diabetes Foundation Children's Congress	1

2000 Video Archive

<u>Date</u>	<u>Event</u>	<u># of Tapes</u>
80. 2000	USDA National Summit on Private Land Conservation	1
81. 2000	Bette Midler Event	1
82. 2000	SEC visit to Chicago on Asian Longhorn infestation	1
83. 2/8/00	CBS Craig Kilborne Show w/OSEC	1
84. 3/7/00	USDA to Propose New National Organic Standards	1
85. 3/7/00	CNN& WETA-"Lehrer News Hour" OSEC-Organic Rules	3
86. 3/13/00	CBS & NBC Drought Conditions	1
87. 3/13/00	CBS-Corrupt USDA Inspectors cheat Farmers	1
88. 3/15/00	MOA Signing Ceremony	
89. 5/18/00	USDA Thermy Digital Cut	1
90. 6/29/00	USDA Civil Rights Forum w/OSEC	3
91. 7/17/00	CBS-Vermont Sheep Condemnation	1
92. 6/30/00	USDA Memorial Service-FSIS Inspectors	2
93. 8/17/00	C-SPAN-Campaign	1
94. 9/25/00	USDA Millennium Lecture	2
95. 9/30/00	NBC-Hunger in Africa/drought	1
96. 10/6/00	ABC-"20/20 Animal Rights Activists"	1
97. 10/10/00	NBC-VT. Sheep ordered killed-Mad Cow Risk	1
98. 10/19/00	NETS-Genetically Altered Corn	1
99. 10/19/00	NETS-Americans' Diets/Nutrition	1
100.2000	SEC and OGC/Combined Federal Campaign Music Video	1

100.	2000	Preserving the Health of the Land-America's Conservation 2	
101.	2000	USDA Forest Service Mission to Israel	1
102.	2000	USDA Making a World of a Difference	1

Chapter 14.

Selected Clippings–Press Coverage

Chapter 15. Selected Photographs

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